

**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING BETEL
QUID CHEWING AMONG YOUNG ADULT MYANMAR MEN IN
CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS OF MANDALAY CITY,
MYANMAR**

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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
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**SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING BETEL QUID CHEWING
AMONG YOUNG ADULT MYANMAR MEN IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS OF
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ABSTRACT

Betel quid chewing is the most common form of smokeless tobacco (SLT) use in Myanmar. Although the association between betel quid and oral cancer has been strongly documented, and has given rise to the health burden, its consumption is still prevalent, particularly among young adult men. This study was conducted from multiple perspectives to uncover the social and cultural factors influencing the popularity of betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men in contemporary society of Mandalay, Myanmar.

The study was conducted from July – December 2013 using qualitative methods. It included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews and non-participant observations.

Indefinite designation and weak application of the current tobacco control laws created an enabling betel chewer structure. Poor socioeconomic conditions and youth life styles exposed young men to the betel chewer community. The wide spread cultural belief that betel chewing is less dangerous than tobacco smoking, and perceived convenience that fits with working conditions gave strength to young men's perceptions, beliefs and decision making to experiment with it. Gender ideology about manhood, involving risk taking, challenging authority, and power competency as proof of masculinity, has a strong influence on young men's decisions in both initiation and affirmation towards betel quid chewing. Participants were aware of the socioeconomic impacts and health risks resulting from betel quid chewing. However, the prevailing environment and lack of social support from friends were major factors that caused ex-betel chewers to re-engage.

There is a need to reform current tobacco control policies with a clear designation of SLT control component; an adoption of a gender based culturally sensitive smokeless tobacco control program; development of a health education program emphasizing poor health outcomes and betel quid chewing addiction; and provide simultaneous implementation of SLT controls and a poverty alleviation program with a strong implication for policy and extend health education coverage, for both school and out of school young men.

**KEY WORDS: SOCIOCULTURAL MEANINGS / BETEL CHEWING PRACTICE AND
EXPERIENCES/ YOUNG ADULT MEN/MYANMAR**

176 pages

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asia Nations
CMA	Critical Medical Anthropology
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GTYS	Global Tobacco Youth Survey
IDI	In-depth Interviews
INGO	International None Government Organization
KI	Key informant interviews
MOH	Ministry of Health
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
SA	South Asia
SEA	South East Asia
SLT	Smokeless Tobacco
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Betel quid chewing was a traditional masticating habit practiced since 3000 B.C (Hiên & Reichart, 2008). Betel quid was composed mainly of betel leaf, areca nut, slaked lime and catechus. Tobacco became the major ingredient of betel quid when it was introduced to India 400 years ago (Shah, 2000; WHO, 2004a) Besides that, spices such as aniseed, turmeric; or sweeteners such as coconuts; and essences such as mints, menthols and rose were added according to local preferences.

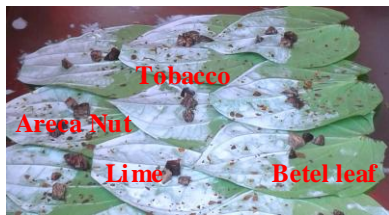


Figure 1.1 Basic ingredients of betel quid Figure 1.2 Betel sets at different eras

This cultural practice was equipped with its unique betel set which included, a betel box to accommodate its multiple ingredients; a spittoon, container for spitting out red betel juice; and a cutter to cut areca nut. A betel set was the important accompaniment and decorated items which signified the social status of betel chewers and it had been used for social exchange among royalty as an instrument to strengthen social bonds (Rooney, 1993).

"Quid" was a substance or a mixture normally composed of any form of tobacco and areca nut as basic constituents. It was chewed or kept in the mouth and exposed to the oral mucosal (Zain et al., 1999). Any kind of quid when wrapped with betel leaf was called betel quid. It was known as *Paan* in India, Bangladesh and Nepal; *Kun-yar* in Myanmar and *Sirih* in Indonesia (WHO, 2011). Chewing of tobacco-free betel quid was only found in Taiwan and Papua New Guinea (P. C. Gupta & Warnakulasuriya, 2002; Lee, Ko, et al., 2012)

1.1 Justification and rationale of the study

1.1.1 Why study betel quid chewing?

1.1.1.1 Cultural norms of betel quid chewing

Betel quid/areca nut chewing was known to be governed by social and cultural practices inherited from ancient traditions. Its traditional values, social and cultural meanings were found throughout SEA countries, particularly in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippine and Myanmar (Rooney, 1993). Its cultural value had been adopted in many parts of traditional practices, such as in religious ceremonies, animistic rituals and social activities for centuries. It had also been used as a health tonic in the region.

A study conducted by Williams et al., (2002) had found out that betel nut had been considered as an auspicious ingredients in Hinduism. For instance, it was used as a statue for praying in the absence of Buddha images and it symbolized food for gods and spirits of deceased ancestors. In ritual practices, it had been used as an instrument to communicate with the spirit world and supernatural forces. For example, it was offered to spirits in a ritual to protect postpartum women who were “lying by the fire”; it was chewed by mediums as a practice to drive out evil spirits; and to gain the protection of good spirits for health in Thailand. Using betel quid to contact supernatural forces to gain their protection and to appease natural forces was found in Thailand and Malaysia. It was an instrument that paved the road of the deceased for better incarnation in death ceremonies of Filipino burial rituals. In Malaysia, it was used to predict the sex of the baby and the conditions that the baby would be born in (Rooney, 1993).

Besides, it was also used as a venue of communication in social relationships between male female and sexual related activities. For instance, in Malaysia, areca nut blessed with auspicious charms was given to brides to increase her radiance in marital ceremonies. In northeastern Thailand, betel quid was fed to the bride and groom to ensure happiness, peace and harmony in their marriage and the pouring of ritual water with slices of areca nut was to keep them away from bad luck and obstacles. In Malaysia, acceptance of the betel quid offered from a son in law-to-be by the bride's parents signified that they agreed to his proposal to marry to their

daughter. In Myanmar, if a husband accepted and ate the half of a betel leaf that offered by the wife, it meant that he agreed to a divorce. Betel quid prepared and offered by a young girl to a bachelor whom she favored from a group of bachelors denoted her choice of marriage partner (Rooney, 1993; WHO, 2004b).

In addition, the offering of betel quid to passing guests was the sign of hospitality and social friendship in China in the fifteenth century. Similarly, in Myanmar, it had been one of the three basic things, named *hsey*, *kun* and *lahpet* (tobacco, betel quid and green tea leaf) that were recommended to be provide to monks and visitors as a sign of hospitality. Offering betel quid to friend was the social norm of establishing social friendship from the provider and it was hard to be rejected by the receiver as it was a universally accepted gift in traditional Myanmar culture (Farley, 2012). The majority of people in Myanmar were Buddhists who followed the Five Precepts of Buddhist guidelines, one of which is that consumption of alcohol was strictly prohibited, but smoking and other forms of tobacco consumption were not restricted. Therefore, betel quid chewing was not only a social and cultural practice, but also accepted by religious practices in Myanmar (WHO, 2012).

However, many of these social and cultural practices were not recorded until several years ago. No further research focused on the socio-cultural meanings of betel quid was carried out in Myanmar. Moreover, there was a concern of whether or not betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men in today's contemporary context of Mandalay city was still related to these cultural beliefs and social practices. Therefore, there was an interest to conduct a study in order to understand the meanings of betel quid chewing embedded in the current era.

1.1.1.2 The association between betel quid chewing and oropharyngeal cancer

The extensive use of betel quid seemed somehow not simply bound to its cultural values and it went beyond traditional practices. Areca nut and tobacco were the well known carcinogenic agents. WHO (2004a) had documented the risk association between cancer and precancerous lesions of the oral cavity and betel quid chewing, regardless of the presence of tobacco or not. This had been proved by a sufficient number of studies (Abhishek, Aniket, V, Panchsheel, & Panchsheel, 2012; Amarasinghe, Usgodaarachchi, Johnson, Lalloo, & Warnakulasuriya, 2010; P. C.

Gupta, Sinor, Bhonsle, Pawar, & Mehta, 1998; Kumar & Mehrotra, 2012; Lee, Ko, et al., 2012; Norton, 1997; Sharan, Mehrotra, Choudhury, & Asotra, 2012). Betel quid, along with its widespread use, had unexpectedly disseminated tremendous health problems and attracted the concern of health personnel worldwide.

A study conducted in India by Byakodi et al. (2012) showed that chewing tobacco was four times riskier than any other form of tobacco consumption. They commented that the highly addictive behavior of betel quid chewing was a determinant of the high prevalence of oral cancer. Although tobacco and alcohol seemed to play a major role in the development of oral cancer, betel quid chewing, regardless of presence of tobacco, had placed Asia and the Indian subcontinent as a geographic area with a high incidence of oral cancer.

Similarly, the association between oral cancer and betel quid chewing had been proved by Sein, Maung, & Aung (1992) two decades ago in Myanmar. This finding was augmented by Reichart & Way (2006). In their short review, the results proved that individuals who chewed betel quid with tobacco had ten times the risk of developing oral and oro-pharyngeal cancer in comparison to individuals who did not chew betel quid. The pattern (Reichart & Way, 2006) and duration (Oo et al., 2011) of betel quid chewing directly contributed to the increased risk and site of oral cancer development (Lee, Lee, et al., 2012). Likewise, the results of a survey conducted in 2006-2007 among 111 oral squamous cell carcinoma patients from Mandalay General Hospital showed that 36% were betel quid chewers (Oo et al., 2011).

Although the association between betel quid and oral cancer had been documented, betel quid chewing was still rife in Myanmar. This indicated that there was an urgent need to find out the factors underlying this situation.

1.1.1.3. The burden of betel quid chewing on human health

Oro-pharyngeal cancer had become a health threat. It was the eleventh most common cancer worldwide (WHO, 2005) and 75% of cases occurred in developing countries (WHO/ICO, 2010). It was the thirteen most common cancer in South East Asia (SEA) and fifth in the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) countries. It was noted as the second out of five most common cancers among SEA men in 2008 (Kimman, Norman, Jan, Kingston, & Woodward, 2012). In

India, registered cases of oral cancer were in above of 100, 000 annually (Johnson et al., 2011)

Oral cavity cancer was relatively common in Myanmar compared to other mainland SEA countries (Moore et al., 2008). It had been defined as the fifth most common cancer among both sexes since 2002 (Reichart & Way, 2006). According to the WHO/ICO (2010) report, oral cavity and pharyngeal cancer incidence in Myanmar among both sexes were much higher than the overall data from SEA. The mortality rate was almost two times higher than that of SEA. Also, esophageal cancer in Myanmar was significantly higher than all other nations of mainland SEA in 2008 (Kimman et al., 2012).

Based on the results of latest survey conducted in 2010, the 2002-2007 data on oral cancer and cancer in general from Yangon and Mandalay general hospitals illustrated that in Myanmar, oral cancer was listed at 6th and 10th most common cancers among male and female respectively. It composed 3.5% of all cancer cases in Myanmar. The total number of oral cancer cases was on the rise from 87 in 2002 to 221 in 2007 (Oo et al., 2011)

The effects of betel quid chewing had produced greater impact, not only confined to the oral cavity, but also reached the systemic involvement of the whole body. For instance, betel quid chewing was found to be linked to the development of type II diabetes mellitus (Tseng, 2010a) and epilepsy (Huang, Xiao, Wang, Li, & Deng, 2003). Chewing betel also led to the increased risk of heart diseases (Guh, Chen, Tsai, & Chuang, 2007; Tseng, 2010b), transmission of HBV infection, development of cirrhosis of the liver (Hsiao, Liao, Hsieh, & Wong, 2007) and urolithiasis (Liu et al., 2009). It was also found that chewing betel quid caused breast cancer in women (Kaushal et al., 2010) and low birth weight of babies by women who chewed betel quid (Senna et al., 2009). In addition, Peng, Chiou, Chen, & Liu (2010) had suggested caution when using the donated blood from betel quid chewers as areca nut might be cytotoxic to red blood cells.

Although betel chewing had become a health problem and caused social encumbrances it had been neglected as a topic of research. To date, very limited numbers of research had been conducted in Myanmar and many of those focused mainly on the association between betel quid and the growth of pathological

lesions in the oral cavity. None of the research had uncovered the factors contributing to betel quid chewing. Hence this study was aimed at helping health policy makers to uncover the hidden causes that influenced betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men so as to develop effective interventions and a control plan.

1.1.1.4 Prevalence of betel quid chewing

Betel quid chewing was widely used by around 600 million people (P. C. Gupta & Warnakulasuriya, 2002) and accounted for 20% of the population worldwide (Linn, Chompikul, Sillabutra, & Wongsawass, 2012). In the year 2000, smokeless tobacco used in India and SEA accounted for 30% of total tobacco use (Shah, 2000) and its consumption was increasing in the region (Prakash C. Gupta, Ray, Sinha, & Singh, 2011; WHO, 2004b; 2011) This included Myanmar (Kyaing, 2001; MOH, 2009).

All South East Asian countries were located in the “betel quid belt”. Myanmar was the country with the highest smokeless tobacco products used. 51.4% of the male population accounted for smokeless tobacco products users (WHO, 2011). The outcome of the sentinel surveillance survey among people in Myanmar who were 15 years of age and above also proved that the consumption was steadily increasing from 32.8% in 2001 to 45.3% in 2007 (MOH, 2009) although the prevalence of smoking was gradually declining (WHO/APPA, 2012). This figure put Myanmar as the second highest smokeless tobacco user among SEA countries (WHO, 2011). Reichart & Way (2006) estimated that there might be eight to twelve million of habitual betel quid chewers in Myanmar. The recent community based cross sectional survey conducted with 275 18-24 years old young men in 2012 showed that smokeless tobacco users comprised 94.1% of total tobacco users (Linn et al., 2012).

The omnipresent availability of betel kiosks not only in Yangon, but also in rural areas indicated the high availability of betel quid in the current societal context of Myanmar. The availability of pan masala (factory made betel quid products from India), both legally and illegally, (Kyaing, 2006) was also evidence that showed the increasing demand for betel quid in Myanmar (Reichart & Way, 2006). Myanmar was third in areca nut production. Its production rapidly increased seven fold from 8000 million tons in 1961 to 51,463 million tons in 2001

(WHO, 2004a). Myanmar was also one of the SEA countries that produced smokeless tobacco products (Prakash C. Gupta et al., 2011).

Although smoking was not an acceptable social norm among girls and women in most of the societies in the region, smokeless tobacco chewing with betel quid was increasing in popularity (WHO, 2010). The prevalent conditions indicated that there was less prohibition on smokeless tobacco use, and wider socio-cultural acceptance in comparison to smoking (Reichart & Way, 2006).

1.1.2 Why study betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men in Mandalay city?

Betel quid chewing was socially accepted and its use was taking place across all classes, genders and ages (Strickland, 2002). Its aficionados included farmers, priests, and kings, men, women, and children, while other substance such as tobacco smoking was supposed to be obnoxious (Changrani & Gany, 2005).

The sign of larger numbers of youth taking up smokeless tobacco was a powerful indicator that showed an increasing trend among young men in India and Myanmar (Prakash C. Gupta et al., 2011; Nyo, 2007; Shein, 2011; WHO, 2010). The GYTS survey conducted in Myanmar from 2007 and 2011 found that smokeless tobacco usage was increasing among the general population aged between 13-15 years (Nyo, 2007; Shein, 2011).

Although the consumption of betel quid chewing varied among countries in South East Asian Region (SEAR), Myanmar still remained in the state with steady growth. The increasing rate of use among males was proved by a series of subsequent sentinel prevalence survey of tobacco use among males fifteen years and above of age in Myanmar. Male consumption was (23.8%) significantly higher than female (8.0%) in 2001 and similarly 39.62% of male preponderance was found in comparison to females with 8.19% in 2011 (MOH, 2013).

This high popularity of betel quid consumption among males had directly contributed to the high prevalence of cancer occurrence among the male population in Myanmar. A study directed by Oo et al. (2011) had demonstrated that males bore a higher preponderance rate (78.4%) than female (21.6%) equivalent to 3.6:1 male female ratio. Similarly, WHO/ICO (2010) reported that high prevalence of morbidity

and mortality of oral cavity cancer was started earlier in adult male than in adult female.

The increasing engagement of betel quid consumption among young adult was the dangerous gateway of increasing health burden in the future. According to the study of poverty alleviation and tobacco control in Myanmar carried out in Yangon, Mandalay and other four townships that representing the coastal, hilly and central plain regions showed that Mandalay was the city with the highest smokeless tobacco consumption (Kyaing et al., 2005).

Mandalay had undergone rapid changes, from when it had been the Royal city of the last kingdom. Being the capital of the Mandalay Region and the second highest populated city located in the center of Myanmar, it had been caught in the rush with increased trade. This had brought a boom-time frontier atmosphere, moving the city into a state of modernization. Despite an increase in the pace of life in the modern era, the legacy of betel chewing was on the rise while it was no longer considered to be a leisurely item in modernized city.

The people living in contemporary urban Mandalay city might be aware of the health effects of betel quid chewing. This was due to the high availability of information everywhere through passive (broadcasting, radio, and television) and active communication technologies (telephone, internet). However, betel quid chewing was becoming the public health concern and social trouble. Increasing consumption and the careless spitting of red betel juice in public places was a hazard to environmental sanitation. This threatened public health via air born disease transmission.

These pieces of evidence strongly signified the urgent need of effective measures towards betel quid control. There were research gaps on why people kept chewing betel quid and what would be the factors underlying its popularity for today's young adult Myanmar men living in the contemporary society. Therefore, this study was designed particularly to explore the social and cultural factors influencing betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men in order to provide recommendations on smokeless tobacco control policy development.

1.2 Research implications

The practice of betel quid chewing is a multi complex issue. Uncovering the socio-structural factors influencing its popularity can provide precious information for all related ministries. This includes the importance of multi-sectoral collaboration in responses to curb the factors driving betel quid chewing practices. Also, acquiring knowledge of betel chewers' perceptions, their cultural beliefs, the social meanings and perceived benefits obtained from betel chewing practices can assist health policy makers in the designing and implementation of various intervention program. These programs would be culturally oriente in line with the structural contexts of the different target population for betel quid chewing intervention.

As a consequence, it brings benefits to the general community on better awareness of psychosocial and health impacts resulting from betel quid chewing. This can initiate the quitting of betel quid chewing. Hence it continues to contribute towards the decline of betel quid chewing prevalence, thereby the burden resulting from betel quid chewing is reduced.

1.3 Research questions

1.3.1 General research question

Why is betel quid chewing still popular among young adult Myanmar men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar?

1.3.2 Specific research questions

1) What are the social and cultural meanings of betel quid chewing in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar?

2) What are the experiences of young adult Myanmar betel chewer men in terms of their perceptions, beliefs, and feelings obtained from betel quid chewing, quitting and patterns of chewing (types, amount, frequency, duration, time, place and occasion of chewing, chew with whom and occasional to habitual chewer)?

3) What are the socio-structural contexts of young adult Myanmar betel chewer men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar?

4) How socio-cultural factors influence betel quid chewing practices among young adult Myanmar betel chewer men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General objective

To explore the socio-cultural factors that determine the popularity of betel quid chewing among young adult Myanmar men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1) To know the social and cultural meanings of betel quid chewing in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar

2) To explore the betel quid chewing experiences of young adult Myanmar betel chewer men living in the contemporary contexts of the Mandalay City, Myanmar

3) To discover the socio-structural factors determine the betel quid chewing practices among young adult Myanmar betel chewer men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar.

4) To explore how socio-cultural factors influence betel quid chewing practices among young adult Myanmar betel chewer men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city, Myanmar.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter was the lens that would guide the research. A review of the literature was undertaken on theoretical concepts and past academic work on the subject of betel quid chewing. Interpretive anthropology was also reviewed to create an interpretive framework for the research.

2.1 Theoretical concepts

2.1.1 Anthropology of addiction

Areca nut was widely used as psychoactive substances. It stimulates euphoria (WHO, 2004). It was believed that chewing betel quid could increase concentration, alertness, relieve tension and heat the body (Benegal, Rajkumar, & Muralidharan, 2008). The cultural beliefs and traditional use of betel chewing practices had led to a biological demand. Rooney (1993) had documented the notable existence of this linkage since 1521. Betel quid chewing used by Filipinos was thought to fortify their heart and they would die if they abstained from it. Recent studies (Benegal et al., 2008; Lee et al., 2012) had also demonstrated its dependence property. Thus, once the initiation started, the gateway of addiction was opened (Shah, 2000). This biological dependency varied according to an individual's physiological construction. However, the increased consumption of industrial manufactured tobacco-containing quid (Gutka) among Indians of the younger generation was a gateway to tobacco use and oral cancer (Lee et al., 2012)

As such, betel quid chewing was the habit seen in daily life. According to the anthropological perspective of drug use, betel quid was a kind of drug (in accordance with its components, tobacco and areca nut). All the same, they were

hardly recognized as “drug or substance use” until its issues on human health had mounted up. These socially learned behaviors had generated into different cultural practices across different cultural groups. The symbolization of these substances bore wise meanings according to gender, social class and cultural practice in a particular context. However, betel quid chewing as a drug might be overlooked by today’s contemporary society when it was applied as routine customary practice.

2.1.2 Interpretative anthropology

Interpretive anthropology was a meaning-centered approach of ethnographic writing and practice. It allowed an anthropologist to interpret a culture by understanding how people within that culture interpreted themselves and their own experiences from the insider, emic point of view. Geertz (1973c, p. 5) believed that culture was “webs of significance”. This semiotic concept of culture could be analyzed by studying the meanings through an interpretive approach, but not as searching of the law as in experimental science. Geertz commented that interpretive anthropology was a really practical based approach, considering human acts as non-written texts and the texts which were performed. Interpretive anthropology was the fundamental approach in searching for some knowledge of the action of people in order to conceptualize and comprehend their world.

Betel chewing was a long traditional practice since the Kingdom era in Myanmar. However, the increasing popularity of this practice in this era drew the attention of researcher to look into the meanings of betel quid and how betel chewers interpreted their chewing experiences from the emic point of view. It was interpretive anthropology that allowed the understand of how betel quid chewing practice and today's culture was contributing to each other by reading through the texts of betel quid chewing and betel chewing practices in today's contemporary society.

2.1.3 Concept of symbol

The symbol had been used as a relatively fixed locus in the Geertzian concept of culture. Symbols served as vehicles for meanings to make people understand on anything such as object, act, event, quality or relation. For instance, the red flag was used as a symbol indicating that there was danger (Geertz, 1973b). In this

regard, symbols should not be studied in and of themselves, but to understand how it was functioning within the culture through which how people experience their world (Ortner, 1984). Geertz (1973a, p. 45) stated that human need the symbol as a "source of illumination" to adjust themselves with respect to the system of meaning of any particular culture. Geertz (1983, p. 31) mentioned that in order to make the organization "readable" it could only be understood through exploring and interpreting symbols that hold meaning in their society. Understanding the meanings, symbols and signs helped people gain access to their conceptual worlds so that people could communicate with them.

Douglas (1966) accepted that sharing of symbols was the mechanism of strengthening social solidarity and social control. Douglas was interested in human culture and symbolism. Douglas illustrated the importance of social history and context by looking inside the words and meanings of dirt matters and explored the differences between sacred and unclean from different cultural contexts. Douglas used the term pollutions as symbols in different cultures to uncover complex ways that people viewed the world. If something was described as polluting, or as dirty, it was considered as not fitting into a pattern of social order. Since dirt was essentially disorder, eliminating it was the positive effort of organizing the environment. Therefore, dirt-avoidance was a creative movement to make the unity of experience. In addition, pollutions were used as analogies in emphasizing the common view of social order. For instance, it was believed that different sexes were dangerous to each other via contact of sexual fluid. Sexual dangers were the symbols that interpret the relationship between parts of society.

Turner (1967b) was concerned with the operations of "society" and the ways in which symbols operated within it. He defined symbols as operators in the social process in which symbols act as "forces" in the dynamic development of social change. In his Ndembu curning ritual, symbols were explained in the ways in which they moved actors from one status to another, resolved social contradiction, and put the actors to the categories and norms of their society. (Turner, 1967c). Turner's main focus was on ritual symbolism. However, symbols could be items, words, interaction, actions, body movements, or spatial units in a ritual situation (Turner, 1967a, p. 19).

Miller (2004) stated that symbols were arbitrary, unpredictable, and diverse according to a particular culture. Through symbols, culture was shared, stored and transmitted over time. Moreover, symbolic context could be changed over time. Nanda (1987) believed that a symbol reflected the social behavior or social structure. Nanda explained multiple representations of the symbol in the symbolic nature of art. For instance, the organization of ritual using dance and music reflected the division of society into various kinship units or ethnic groups.

The symbols of betel quid and betel chewing practices that were given by young adult Myanmar betel chewer men would interpret the meanings of its existence in their cultural society. Therefore, understating the symbol as the vehicle of meaning allowed researcher to find out how the betel quid and betel quid chewing practices had been symbolized in terms of social and cultural meanings and how it had been practiced in betel chewer daily life.

2.1.4 Concept of masculinity

Masculinity was a socially and culturally constructed category of gender identity. In addition, masculinity had multiple and ambiguous meanings according to context and changes over time. Connell (2005) explained by “configuration of practice” that men performed in certain ways, and if they failed to do so it implied they were not masculine. The practice was structured by gender relations throughout the time and it became the personality or character of the person. Connell also argued that masculinity was not merely a natural character type or behavioral norm, but also the process and relationships through which men and women conducted their gendered lives.

There was a diversity of masculinities and femininities. The definition of masculinity varied from person to person. In an essentialist definition, masculinity was defined as being “active” whereas femininity was considered as being “passive”. Masculinity had been characterized as risk-taking, responsibility, irresponsibility, aggression and even with Zeus energy (Connell, 2005).

In addition, Tiger (1969) (as cited by Connell, 2005) defined masculinity as being “true maleness” Furthermore, positivist social scientists defined masculinity simply as “what men actually were”. This definition was trying to discriminate

between men and women. In addition, ways in which men adjusted their lives in whatever given culture was called the pattern masculinity. Actually, the terms masculine and feminine went beyond the different sex categories of gender role of the men and women, but it represented the differences exist within the men and the women themselves.

In the normative definition, masculinity was defined as social norms representing the behavior of men, indicating that what men were supposed to be, their desired characteristics. Thus the normative definition allowed men to represent themselves in different degrees according to the standard they approached.

Connell (2005) concluded that, masculinity, could be defined as practices that reflect how man and women practiced their gender relationships through their bodily experience, personality and culture.

Another concept stretched by Connell (2005) was “hegemonic masculinity”. It was the power relationship resulting in dominance and subordination among groups of men in the overall structure within their gender society. It was also the social making practice and constructed under social relationships. For example, when the school boys play sports, they were contending with each other in the form of power relations and finding their reputation. This institutional masculinity reflected the concept of hegemonic masculinity. But it was not constant, sometimes it was disruptive. However, hegemony existed only when there was a relationship between cultural expectation and power competition in a particular structural condition.

Betel quid chewing was mainly practiced by men in Myanmar. As such, there was a great concern as to how this practice had given rise to such distinct gender disparity. Therefore, understanding masculinity was an incentive to support finding out why betel quid chewing was popular among young adult men in the community.

2.1.5 Critical Medical Anthropology

Singer was a person first expressed the missing link in the anthropological study of substances (drug) use in 1986. Singer argued that socio-cultural model study had only paid attention to an insider understanding of detailed cultural variation in the web of social life in its complexity of behavior and cultural belief. Outside forces had overlooked political economy in the world, the transforming effects of the worldwide

marketplace and global labor practices that contributed significant changes of traditional exercise and cultural significance of substance use (Baer, Singer, & Susser, 1997).

The critical medical anthropological (CMA) model viewed drug use within the context of macro-level structures such as prominent economic inequity, institutionalized social control; social processes and dominant institutions such as corporate activities with state invention and media domination and systems of discrimination; and power relationship such as the emergence of social classes, unequal relations among developed and underdeveloped countries. The social production of suffering; the usage of drugs for the intention of self-medication for the relief of emotional injuries as a result of social injustice and mismanagement; and the political economy of legal and illegal drug markets were three major topics that applied to the subject by considering drug use and addiction in CMA mode (Singer, 2012).

Social production of suffering

Existence of social disparities such as public policies with the weakening of social welfare, the disproportionate burden of tax policies on the poor, but in favor of urbanization that pushed the poor to displacement and hopelessness resulting in a state of distress and suffering imposed by structuralism.

Social suffering referred to the immediate personal experience of great hurt and suffering such as physical health, mental wellness and other lived experiences among the powerless victim as an outcome of power asymmetry in the political economic system.

Self-medication

CMA perspective viewed inequity as the primary reason that forced people to drug usage and dependence. Stress called for the drug use as self medication, resulting in discrimination and ultimately urged for drug used for relief from social suffering. The effects of the vicious cycle of stress management made people develop dependency on drugs, which in turn lead to health inequity as a consequence of infection transmission through drug addiction.

With regard to political economics of drug used, Engels as cited in Baer et al., (1997, p. 91) had proposed the following six points to be in sight on alcoholism:

1. Abusive drinking was a health and social problem of enormous magnitude.
2. Abusive drinking developed under identifiable social conditions that were the product of class relations.
3. Given a class conflict, heavy drinking might help build in-group social solidarity.
4. The extent of drinking and alcohol-related problem, nevertheless, was linked to the availability of alcohol.
5. A key role in the facilitation of availability was played by the state.
6. The other major role in facilitation was played by the social class that controlled and took profits from alcohol production and distribution.

Smokeless tobacco was reported mainly to be used by those of lower socioeconomic status. Several research findings showed that people who did not have jobs or received low wages might encounter stress (Linn, Chompikul, Sillabutra, & Wongsawass, 2012). Similarly, suffering from working under poor conditions signified job alienation. Therefore, people might encounter substance use in order to temporarily relieve their social suffering. Therefore, CMA would be one of the theoretical lenses utilized to understand the socio-structural context of today's young adult men and how they had determined their betel chewing practices.

2.1.6 Concept of practice theory

Practice theory was the basic concept that was applied from fundamental aspects of an individual's everyday life of the strategic activities of institutions. Practice theory was a theory used to explain the grounds of a particular kind of a society and how it existed at a peculiar moment, and how the people with different interests and designs had been part of that social form with transformation of themselves and their society (Dougherty, 2013)

Eriksen and Nielelsen (2001) mentioned that Pierre Bourdieu developed the notion of 'habitus that explained capturing the permanent internalization of the social order in the human body which was the key of the formulation of the principles of practice theory (Eriksen and Nielelsen cited in Bräuchler & Postill, 2010). Habitus meant "to have" or "to hold". Bourdieu conceptualized that habitus was embedded in a

theory of action. Habitus was not individuality, but it was social. It was in replication, imitative representation of nature and human behavior in the daily actions rather than accessed only through words; it was the disposal of repetitive practices in the body. Thus, human practices were synchronized by incorporating, generalized, transposable disposition rather than by just following the cultural roles, rules, or norms or by conscious intentions, meanings or calculations. (Swartz, 2002)

The habitus not only constrained practices, it was also a result of the creative relationships of human beings. On the other hand, habitus was both result of practices and mode of practices (Boudieu & Nice, 1977, p. 18). Habitus could thus be seen as a matrix of patterns of cognition, perception and action that produced in relationship with actual contextual conditions of the social field an actor was situated in. For instance a lifestyle could be seen as a system of classified and classifying practices and distinctive signs: 'Lifestyles were thus the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus, became sign systems that were socially qualified' (Boudieu & Nice, 1979, p. 172). Lifestyles were the effect of practices that referred to individuals. The everyday practice of gestures, manners, and social practices all of these were distinctive signs, expression of habitus. On the other hand, the habitus also structured, that was changed and influenced lifestyles and social practices. The lifestyles were closely related to the conditions of existence. Still, the relationship of structures and actors/groups was not deterministic, but a reciprocal relationship in which individual was practically connected to others and the structures they lived in. Thus the individual was not an isolated atom, thus could only be existed in relationship to others. He stressed that the individual was practically in its struggles connected to others and that this connection was the critical aspect of the social process (social system)

Alternatively, Ortner defined a theory of practice as a "theory of conversion, or translation, between internal dynamics and external forces"(Ortner, 1989, p. 200). It was a theory concerned about the ways in which a given social order mediated the impact of external events by shaping the ways in which actors experienced and responded to those events. Practice theory "sought to explain the relationship(s) that obtained between human action, on one hand, and some global entity which we called 'the system' on the other"(Ortner, 1984, p. 148).

Ortner (1984) mentioned that practice theory examined the things people did and said on a everyday based. By practicing, or participating in, these events people were strengthening their cultural systems, but the systems also shaped them. She described practice theory with a more politicized view of culture that focused on the relationship between individuals and the overarching social and economic structures that organize they lived.

This dialectic of structure and human action was always set within a specific time and place, especially when the power issue was to be taken into account. The historical status of any tradition or practice took into account of its dynamic nature. Transformations, alterations and repetition in human practices were influenced by both internal individual and social pressures as well as by pressures exerted from outside the social grouping. With the concept of practice theory, the historical context as well as the particular practices at any given time was considered which in turns help to build a full-bodied picture of the dynamics of power, both individual and structural (Dougherty, 2013).

Therefore, practice was about what the people doing, especially under the influence of model, whether it was intended, or unintentionally aimed towards the political implication was of great concern. Practice was a new theoretical orientation emerging from a symbolic idea. Practice theory tried to explain the relationship between human interactions and looked at how the global entity system and the practical impact they had upon each other. However, interest must exist as an important motivation factor that drove people to come up with the practice. Culture was a set of models showing the relations between these models upon the entities, processes or physical, organic, social or psychological that they had in 'paralleling', 'imitating', simulating' them (Geertz, 1973b).

Considering that betel chewing practice was highly prevalent in the community and it was proved that the engagement was related to modeling other people in their society. Therefore, practice theory was another lens that would lead to finding out if betel chewing practice was related following the practices of others.

2.2 Literature review

2.2.1 Socio-structural contexts of betel quid chewing practices

2.2.1.1 Socio-structure contexts as factors towards betel quid chewing practices

Wang, Tsai, Huang, & Hong (2004) found that the social status of the family was one of the structural factors that determine the incidence of betel quid chewing among Taiwanese students. For instance, high incidence of betel nut chewing was found to be associated with parents' marital or the death of parents. People who had been exposed to repeated family clashes were found to be constant betel quid chewer (Yen, Yang, Su, Wang, & Lan, 2009). Chen and his colleagues (2006) revealed that children raised by a single-parent were more prone to joining the adolescent work force with few opportunities to receive institutionalized training. Those people were more associated with forms of psychosocial problem and thus risk substance use. The job related risks for psychoactive substance used were found especially among the young worker who worked in an environment with high potential for contact with betel quid chewers such as grocer's shops or eateries.

A study conducted by Shadel, Niaura, & Abrams (2001) revealed that family structure and stress were associated with or could be a predictor of adolescent substance use. People who suffered from post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) were three to four times higher at risk of engaging in substance use disorder than non PTSD. Feelings of suffering such as shame and stigmatization were the reasons leading them to seek substance use as self medication in cases of suffering (Ouimette & Brown, 2004)

Poor socioeconomic status and lower educational level were other social factors associated with the substance use (Chen et al., 2006; Thankappan & Thresia, 2007; Wang et al., 2004; Yen et al., 2009). Surveys led by Turk et al. (2012) in a nationally representative household survey of tobacco users in India and Nemeth et al. (2012) among rural Ohio Appalachia showed that the popularity of smokeless tobacco use was linked to the typical identity of social divisions of certain hillbillies in Ohio Appalachia, such as their educational level, economic disparity, and other social dissimilarities and ethnicity. In addition, the value of smokeless tobacco was also tied

to and associated with occupation as most betel quid chewers were manual workers. It showed that this identity existed among certain working group societies.

The capitalist economic system was another structural factor that largely influenced the perception and attitude towards substance used. For instance, aggressive advertising adapted to cultural factors played an important environmental factor that penetrated the younger generation. This reinforced the use of betel quid chewing among existing users as well as added force to stabilize the underlying cultural values. A study conducted in Ohio by Nemeth et al (2012) clearly showed that the type of smokeless tobacco products and their packaging were reinforcing and promoting the cultural norms of masculinity and determined the status of users despite knowing its impact on health.

Lack of legislation in political control of the product sales was the environmental context that allowed young men to easily access betel quid. A study conducted in Myanmar pointed out that the lack of legal legislation of betel sales allowed the opening of betel quid shops in front of tea stalls. Since sitting at tea shop was the custom in Myanmar, the tea shop became an ideal place for young men to start learning betel chewing (WHO, 2012). Poor supervision from parents and teachers also determined the use of substances by children (Sma Shah, Merchant, Luby, & Chotani, 2002; Sameena Shah, Qureshi, & Azam, 2008). For example, Sma Shah et al. (2002) showed that children who received close guidance from parents on their homework were less likely to chew betel quid, therefore a close relationship between parents and children played an influential role in their children's engagement with betel quid use.

Other community factors such as the availability of products at home, or close contact with local shop, and cheap prices were the structural factors that favored a person's initiation and continuation of substance use (Ali, Khuwaja, Ali, & Hameed, 2009; Nemeth et al., 2012; Sma Shah et al., 2002; Sameena Shah et al., 2008; Williams, Malik, Chowdhury, & Chauhan, 2002). A study on areca nut addiction among primary school children in Karachi, Pakistan showed that most chewers (94%) bought the areca nut from nearby stores, but few numbers of chewers were accessed through family or contacts (Sma Shah et al., 2002). A cheap price was also found to be a major determinant that initiated smokeless tobacco use in Myanmar (WHO, 2012).

Moreover, the exertion of social pressure from a community member or peers was an important social factor that put force on the people to begin betel quid chewing (Ali et al., 2009; Dongre Ar, Deshmukh Pr, Murali N, & Garg Bs, 2008; Lin, Chu, Wu, & Shen, 2004; Sorensen et al., 2005; Wang, Tsai, Huang, & Hong, 2003) A study conducted by Bedi (1996) revealed that young Bangladeshi women were forced by society to include tobacco in betel quid chewing around the age of marriage. Adult females who did not chew tobacco were considered deviant by the community. Pickwell, Schimelpfening, & Palinkas (1994) also found out that Cambodian women living in the USA had been influenced by their neighbor to participate in the making and eating of quid.

2.2.1.2 Socio-structure contexts served as a venue of modeling towards betel quid chewing

Growing in a society that accepted smokeless tobacco use promoted betel quid chewing. Modeling or emulating current users such as a family member or friend was a common factor that lead to initiation of substance use (Nemeth et al., 2012; Sma Shah et al., 2002; Sameena Shah et al., 2008). For instance, the study conducted by Nemeth et al., (2012) among rural Ohio Appalachia showed that emulating the male family member especially among the families that accepted smokeless tobacco consumption as normal, a usual cultural and ordinary practice leading towards the growth of tobacco usage. In addition, the statement of "*the best advertisement is just the people around here*" from the same study clearly signified how social networks and norms played an influential role in smokeless tobacco use.

Similarly, a series of researches had shown that being encouraged by male family members or peer networks was also the interpersonal factor that accounted for the most influential role towards exposure and sustained use of smokeless tobacco. Ali et al. (2009), Dongre Ar et al. (2008), Sorensen et al., (2005) and Williams et al., (2002) had explored that initiation of chewing. It was found that it had begun by young people helping themselves at home or they were being offered it by their mother. Similarly, a review of tobacco controlled studied in Myanmar also found out that betel chewing was related to peer pressure (WHO, 2012).

Betel quid was viewed as a snack among Bangladeshi women in North England and they sent their children to school with areca nuts and areca nut crisps instead of sweets and grandparents also used areca nut to treat their children (Williams et al., 2002). The finding from a study conducted by Pickwell et al. (1994) also agreed that betel quid chewing behavior was perceived as nothing unusual even by the non betel quid chewers among the Cambodian women who stayed in the USA.

Hence, the practice of children was highly shaped by the perception and social practice of the family. A study conducted by Nichter, Nichter, & Sickel (2004) among male college students in India showed that the parents' attitude towards their child's substance used habit varied according to religious affiliation. For instance, in Christian families, a father used to drink or smoke together with the son, but in Hinduism, this same behavior was considered disrespectful. In that survey, 50% of respondents reported that they had been told not to smoke or chew by their parents and 72% of respondents said their father disagreed with their habits connected to tobacco use.

All these findings indicated that socio-structural contexts, such as economic discrepancies, socioeconomic status, social discrimination, social pressure, geographical differences, political economic influences such as aggressive advertisement and lack of legislation and political control, family structure, poor supervision, being socially acceptable, easily accessible and cheaper price contribute to betel quid chewing among people in the community. Likewise, gender roles and expectation, ethnicity, educational level and having stress also triggered betel quid chewing practices.

2.2.2 Cultural health belief on betel quid chewing practices

The believe of betel quid chewing provided positive health effects was one of the common causes that lead people chew it (Rooney, 1993; M. N. Shah, 2000; Williams et al., 2002). Betel quid was applied widely in the context of health and healing in Asian and some of the Western countries. It had been used as a traditional Ayurvedic medicine in South Asia. Areca nut was perceived as 'Hot' and betel leaf was 'cool' thus they complement each other to keep the human body in balance and thus it cured fever and headache.

Betel quid had been used to reduce appetite, to help digestion, to loosen the stool. Besides, it was also used as an astringent, mouth freshener after meals; to cure tooth-ache and scurvy, to fasten teeth and strengthens the gums. In addition, it was used to promote the taste sensation and for the relaxation. It was also used as an antioxidant, to treat impotence and gynecological problems and used as deworming in case of worm infestation (Rooney, 1993; Williams et al., 2002). It had been used to prevent the morning sickness in pregnant women in Indian culture (Senna et al., 2009) because it was believed as less harmful than smoking (WHO, 2004). Betel quid had also been utilized as a substitute of money for the services fees to the midwives and surgeons in Malaysian culture (Rooney, 1993). However, there was no update information showed that whether or not these cultural beliefs contributed to today's betel quid chewing practice.

2.2.3 Masculinity and betel quid chewing practices

In a study conducted among college student in Southwestern and Midwestern universities, USA found that male students smoked for the reasons of smoking made them looked more masculine or manly, looked like a tough guy and let out of being a bad boy image. It also enhanced their appearance of cool and they were in control. Smoking also gave them feeling of relax, manageable and showed their risk taking character (Nichter et al., 2006). Another study showed that masculinity determined the perceived health behavior. Men would perform a positive health behavior only when they had a low perception of masculinity and with a high attitude towards other men's healthy behavioral practice (Mahalik, Burns, & Syzdek, 2007). On the other hand, men who had a high perception of masculinity were more likely to conduct risky practices and they did not care whether or not that particular practice would affect on their health.

Several literatures had shown that betel quid chewing was a practice that showed the rite of passage of development to an adult human. In Ohio Appalachian culture, chewing betel quid was to show their manliness especially when chewed in front of women who hardly accepted this practice (Nemeth et al., 2012). Betel quid chewing among young men in Taiwanese culture, symbolized that they were proud of their masculine as they were as stout as areca nut (Williams et al., 2002). A research

carried out by Pickwell et al. (1994) among the Cambodia women in USA revealed that women perceived cigarette smoking was indicated the power of men while betel chewing was the habit for women. This practice had been fixed and tied to different sexes as smoking was abnormal but betel chewing was normal for women.

No literature mentioned direct relationship between betel quid chewing and risk taking characteristic of masculine was found. However, referring to the above stated characteristics, the behavior of betel quid chewer men might relate to the risk taking, particularly for those young men who constructed masculinity.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Betel quid chewing was the complex issue. Its emergence was governed under varieties of conditions. Therefore, in this study, multiple theoretical concepts were applied to explore how the social and cultural factors intertwined with the theoretical concepts and hence determined the decision making of young adult men to engage with betel chewing.

According to critical medical anthropology (CMA) perspective, drugs used was the major consequence of inequity exerted by political economy. Thus the capitalist economic system shaped the socio-structural contexts which facilitated towards betel quid chewing through determining the accessibility and availability of betel quid in the community. Moreover, it also determined the individual socioeconomic condition that influenced the individual exposure to betel quid chewing.

The cultural beliefs on benefits, perceived less severity of betel quid chewing and the social meanings of betel quid related to social function and social practices embedded in the community would influence young men's perceptions and beliefs that triggered their interests and hence their decision making on betel quid chewing. In addition, gender practices would also influence on young adult men's initiation and affirmation towards betel quid chewing. Once people chewed it, they got experiences from it, and hence they became addictive to it.

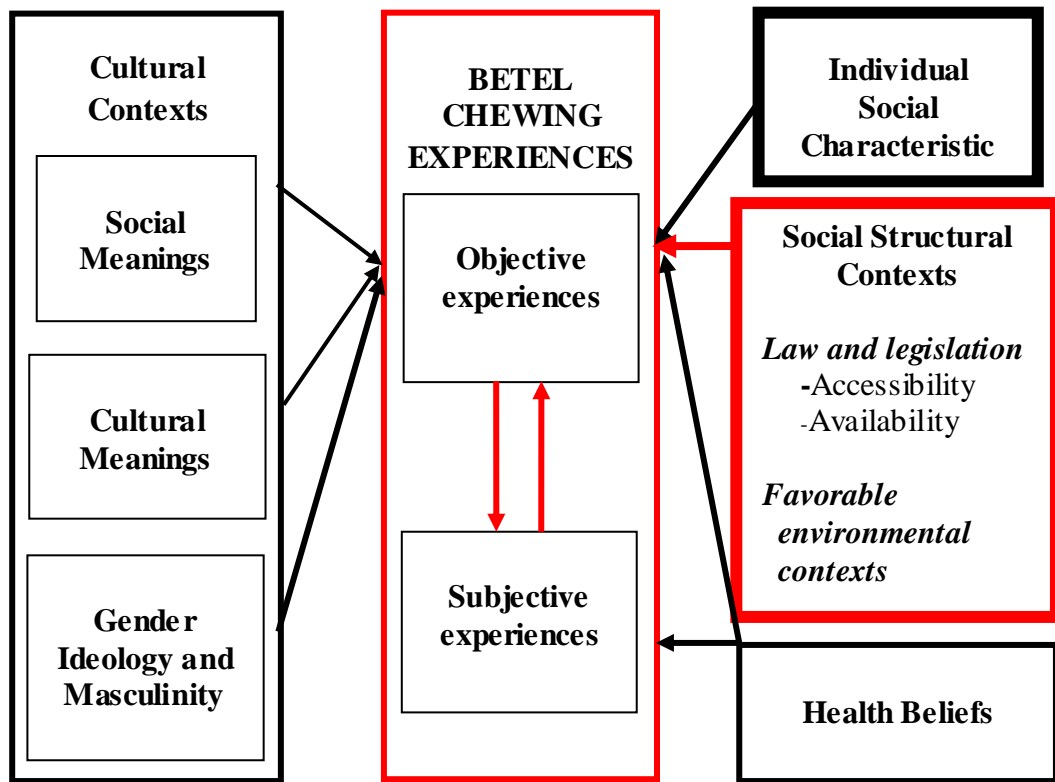


Figure 2.1 Conceptual frame work showing factors underlie towards betel quid chewing practices

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

The study aimed to explore the social and cultural factors that triggered today's young adult men living in Mandalay city engaged with betel quid chewing. It was the descriptive and explanatory study.

Creswell (1994) defined that qualitative research was a process of inquiry conducted under natural setting. It is looking for the understanding of individual and societal problems from multiple perspectives in order to get the complex and holistic pictures of the phenomenon of interest. Therefore, this study was carried out with qualitative and case study approach. The interpretative anthropology, critical medical anthropology, practice theory and concepts of masculinity were used as theoretical lens. This study was intended to explore the social characteristics of betel chewers, the social and structural contexts where the informants belong to, the health beliefs and the social and cultural meanings related to betel quid and betel quid chewing practices existed in the community. The betel quid chewing experiences of young adult men were also explored.

It was the community based study carried out with various methods of qualitative study designs. It included key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and participant observations. These different methods allowed the researcher looked deeply into the meaning system of betel quid and betel quid chewing practices and the actions existed between the betel chewers and their societal contexts from multiple aspects.

3.2 Entering into the research field and site selection

The study was conducted in the researcher’s residential city, Mandalay. Mandalay was formed of five townships namely; Aung Myay Tha Zan, Chan Aye Tha Zan, Ma Ha Aung Mya and newly extended Pyi Gyi Tagon Township. The researcher lives in Chan Aye Tha Zan Township, which was the heart of Mandalay city.

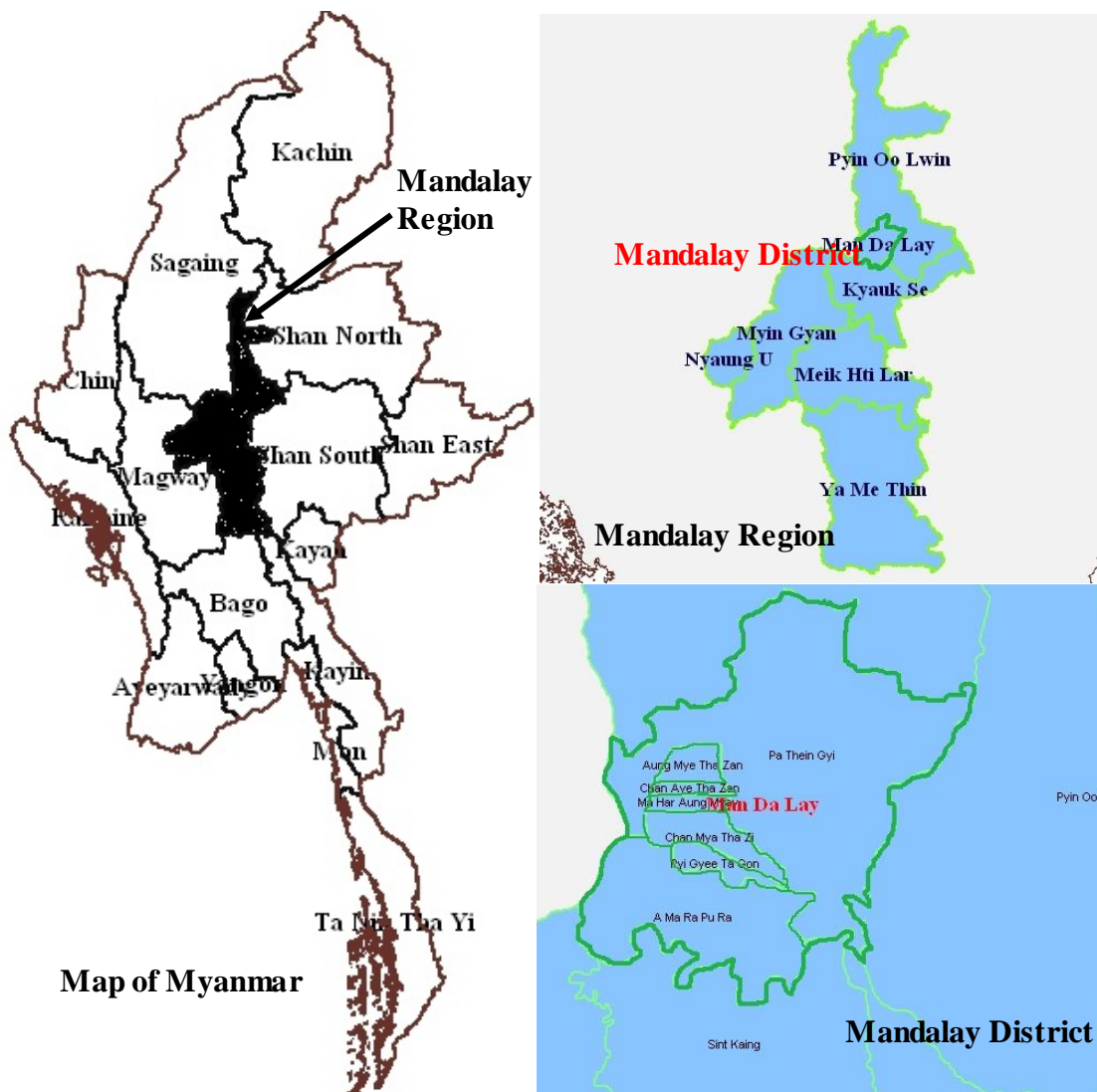


Figure 3.1 Maps of Myanmar, Mandalay Region, Mandalay District and Mandalay City

Although it was sure that the research was going to conduct in Mandalay city, but the researcher didn’t know which township she could focus on. The

researcher decided to do the study site selection through area mapping when she arrived to Mandalay.

The researcher came back to Mandalay city in the second week of July, 2013. It took about 2 hours to fly back from Bangkok, Thailand to reach to the Mandalay international airport, which was 45 kilometers away from the city. As Mandalay was located on the central plain of Myanmar, it belonged to the central dry zone with long duration of the summer season. While the researcher arrived there in July, the terrible sunshine was welcoming her when looking through the window shade of the airplane. Luckily, there was shuttered bus providing by air Asia to its passengers to commute to the city. With the help of the staffs researcher could put on her messy stuffs and headed to the Mandalay city.

Soon the researcher went out of the airport zone she recognized that there was a great changes within one year when she away from it. She passed by the two townships on the way back to her resident. There were many new buildings erected, many old buildings along roadsides were also renovated. The urban center was designed with many colorful business advertisements here and there. It looked busy with the crowded population moving to and from, and the roads were traffic with many attractive new cars. By straying and observing on the road, she arrived at the Diamond Plaza stop after about one and a half hours drive. The place where Diamond Plaza, located was the most active place of Chan Aye Tha Zan Township. It was only about five minutes walk to the researcher's house. But the researcher had to get on cycle taxis to carry her stuffs home. Car taxi was relatively rare in Mandalay, but cycle taxi was available everywhere. She went on two cycle taxis, one took her stuffs and one brought her home. Amazing that, both cycle taxi drivers were betel quid chewers. Researcher talked to the one who drove her on the way informally; she got to know that both of them were coming from another township of Mandalay city.

When the researcher arrived home, she found her household was under restoration. It was messing with construction materials and dirty with the debris and betel juice stain. After she settled down her stuffs and getting a rest for a while, she got away and followed the renovation. There were many betel chewers among the people working in her house. Through conversation with them the researcher knew that they also came from other townships of Mandalay city. Although the researcher

planned to select her township as a study site, but she realized that there might have some changes happen.

Next day, the researcher started contact with her relative, a logistician, who was working in a private company and with a wider social networking. That person took the researcher to meet with a man who was a wise person and also a betel chewer. They hoped to obtain his support for the entry of participant recruitment. When the researcher explained about her research and selection criteria for the participant to them, both of them said, it was quite difficult to draw the participants who met the selection criteria within their network from Chan Aye Tha Zan Township. The betel quid chewers they knew were all living in other townships, other than Chan Aye Tha Zan. They said most of the betel chewers saw in the Chan Aye Tha Zan Township were come from other townships to work in this area. Nonetheless, these townships were different in administrations, but they are interconnected with each other geographically. So people normally present them as they were from Mandalay, they rarely specified the township unless they were asked.

The researcher carried out the area mapping as she planned earlier. She went around Chan Aye Tha Zan Township. She visited its most crowded area such as Diamond Plaza area, Zay Cho wholesale market, railway station, hospitals and jade trading market. She did visit to car trading market and bus terminals located in other townships. The researcher realized that people working in those places were come from different townships; they came in the morning and went back home in the evening. They were cycle taxi drivers, construction workers and hard laborer. Some were jade broker, car broker and some were car drivers and bus assistant. They were rather occupied and they rarely fixed in an area. They were mobile along with their work. That condition indicated there was difficult to recruit the participants by the researcher herself without support from other's network. So the researcher gave up to confine the study site in Chan Aye Tha Zan Township but decided to study Mandalay city as a whole with the network started from those two people she met before. Both of them were also from the townships other than Chan Aye Tha Zan. But they were commuting to and from and they could network with the betel quid chewers from both inside and outside their townships.

3.3 Participants selection criteria and recruitment process

The participants were selected purposively by using the snowball selection method. The target populations were the betel quid chewer from 18-25 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer Myanmar men, 26-40 years old middle lower socioeconomic class adult betel quid chewer Myanmar men. The betel sellers, the high school teachers, the University teachers and the youth leaders were included without specific age limitation for key informants.

3.3.1 Recruitment process

Once the researcher arrived to the Mandalay, she started contact with her relative who was working in private business company as a logistician. She had wider social network and good social relationship across all genders and ages. The researcher talked about her research and asked that relative to support networking to the betel chewers to carry the research. Later, that relative introduced the researcher to a betel chewer who was the university teacher from law department. They expected that teacher would open the network gate for participant recruitment. The researcher shared about her research, the selection criteria for participant and the consideration of study site selection to them.

With their recommendation, the researcher went to a famous tea shop in Chan Aye Tha Zan Township with them. They went there with the expectation to get an entry point for recruitment because there has a large betel quid stall and many people who came to tea shop were betel chewers. The researcher observed the business of betel quid stall and the prevalent of betel chewer there. She found some staffs from the tea shop, including their manager were betel chewers. The researcher's relative introduced researcher to that manager. She talked informally to get friendship with that manager. Shortly, researcher explained her purpose of visit and made an appointment for next visit aimed to explain more about the research to him.

After that, the researcher moved to the betel stall which located at the north corner of the entrance of tea shop. The betel seller was a lady. The researcher looked at her betel quid preparation and types of betel quid commonly bought by people. Betel quid seller had a very good business. Many people came and purchased from her. The betel quid buyers included people came out of the tea shop after eating

or drinking and also people came from outside purposively to buy from her shop. Most of the betel chewers looked like government clerical staffs and business brokers. Majority were young adult men. When the betel seller was a bit free from selling betel quid, the researcher introduced herself to the betel quid seller and expressed her interest on betel quid chewing practices. The researcher had a short informal chatting with that betel seller lady so that the rapport building for next step was done.

The researcher placed much expectation on them to capture their support when she saw there were many betel chewers. The researcher visited there several days as to have breakfast there and she tried to progress friendship with them. Although the researcher provided the present that she bought from Thailand to them, however, their interest was in doubt.

The researcher diverted her approach towards another betel quid stall which was adjacent to the tea shop. The betel quid seller was an adult male. He sold betel quid together with the snacks. The researcher bought some snacks from him and asked permission to allow her to take a seat on his long bench near his mobile stall for having her snack. Looking at the researcher's ease and friendly sitting appearance, the betel quid seller started enquiry where the researcher came from. The researcher started her introduction and shared him the difficulty that she was encountering in the recruitment of participants. After listening that he was willing to assist researcher for her research. So that he became the first key informant who was a betel quid seller and also a betel quid chewer. The researcher also requested him to help networking for further participant recruitment. He explained his limitation in networking because the majority of his customers were the passenger who passed by. He perceived that it was impolite to ask a non familial person to participate in the research. It would bother to them because Myanmar people were not familiar with the research. In addition, most of the people were reluctant to talk about anything to other, particularly if it was to be public because Myanmar people were oppressed with no freedom of speaking for many decades. He added that the issue of tobacco control was just discussed at the parliament assembly meeting to reinforce the existed laws into application, therefore majority of betel chewers were afraid of to be accused. The researcher came to understand the reasons why it was difficult to recruit the participants.

The researcher extended her network to her friends and other relatives as much as possible to get network from them. The first resource person, the University teacher, also became one of the key informants. The researcher extended more networks from him and finally two FGDs were mobilized with the snowball method through his network extension. Only small numbers of informant were recruited directly by the researcher through a network of her relative.

The researcher introduced herself to every recommended potential participant that she was from the Mandalay city, the same residential population with them. At the same time, the researcher let them know that presently she was a student and the researcher from Mahidol University. She showed them her student ID card and started explaining them the purpose of visit to them. Following that the researcher gave a detailed explanation on the research, the ethic and the needs of their voluntary support. They were explained about their right of decision on participation and dropped out anytime due to any inconveniences.

The researcher talked lively with them in order to let them had feeling of closed friendliness with the researcher so that rapport building was started. The researcher allowed them to make free choices on their true willingness and voluntary participation. She provided the translated participant information sheet to them for reading and discussion with other people in order to lead to the stage of consideration and coming out with voluntary participation. The researcher did provide her contact number and address to them to validate that she was being part of their community so as to support in trust building and to get contact with them for their participation. In this way the researcher got the voluntary participants in the followed up steps. However, before started the interview and discussion, the researcher re-explained them again what she had explained before in relation to research, after ensuring their true understanding and willingness of participation, the oral consent was obtained.

Although the researcher planned to recruit a socially active young man to be her facilitator in the FGDs, however, due to the time constraints, the researcher had decided to use a key informant and an interviewed adult man who organized the young and adult FGDs groups as facilitators. The researcher tool the benefit that they would bring strength to the FGDs via facilitate their friends' participation by sharing of their experiences obtained from their interview they sit with the researcher.

3.3.2 Participant selection criteria

The inclusion criteria for recruitment of participants for FGDs and in-depth interviews were as follows:

1) 18-25 year old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men. Lower life skill here referred to undergraduate persons who worked at any lower life skill jobs with poor working conditions and lower salary.

2) 26-40 year old lower middle economic class adult betel quid chewer men. Lower middle economic class here referred to the graduated person who worked with fair working condition or had own business.

The upper limit of age was set at 40 years in order to avoid the differences in opinion, cultural beliefs and modern practices. The assumption was taken as the gap might be present between larger age discrepancies. The age was limited aimed to get the information on the cultural value and meaning of betel quid and chewing through the homogeneity of the participated population.

However, in this research, due to the difficulty in recruitment, two participants in lower middle economic class were not graduated, but they were recruited with the criteria of age and economic status. Similarly, although the lower life skill young men participants were intended to be selected from none graduate, one participant with diploma graduate and one university student were recruited with the concern of other selection criteria.

3) The informants were either the residence of Mandalay city or at least stayed in that place for more than 5 years.

4) The informants were current regular betel quid chewers who chew betel quid every day or at least 3 days in a week at least for one year and above duration.

5) Betel chewers who were able to transmit and explain well about their insights and beliefs related to betel quid and betel quid chewing experiences.

Total ten informants for in-depth interviews, five from 18-25 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men and five from 26-40 years old lower middle economic class adult betel quid chewer men.

Two FGDs included five persons each from each group of 18-25 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men and 26-40 years old lower middle economic class adult betel quid chewer men were conducted in order to support the

finding from in-depth interviews and participant observations or vice versa to ensure the answers for research questions from multiple approaches were qualified

In addition, four key informants were selected purposively without age limitation. The general idea about the social structural context of study area, social and cultural beliefs about betel quid chewing practices, general behavioral and characteristics of today's young adult men and their perception on betel chewer practices were explored.

3.4 Research methods

In order to be able to answer the research questions, multiple methods of qualitative data collection were used. It included in-depth interviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations. Total 24 participants were involved in this study. They were 4 key informants, 10 participants from two FGDs and 10 informants for in-depth interviews. Both FGDs and in-depth interviews were conducted with five people each from two categories of men who were 18-25 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men and 26-40 years old lower middle economic class adult betel quid chewer men.

3.4.1 Participant observations

First and foremost, after discussing with the two resources persons, the researcher started first observations aiming to get the idea for study site selection. After that she continued observation for both to be able to find out the informants and to observe the general contexts of the local area. For instance, prevalent of betel quid chewer, availability of betel quid stall, traditional and religious used of betel quid in the community, conditions triggered towards betel quid chewing practices and betel quid chewers' working conditions and their betel quid chewing practices.

Observation was continued while waiting some connection from the two resource persons. The researcher looked around the tea shops, tried breakfast at different tea shops for observation because many people was gathering at a tea shop for their breakfast or take a stop before going to their work. One day, the researcher stopped at a betel quid stall located a house distance from the tea shop she first visited.

This betel quid stall was on the road side and the betel quid seller was an adult man. Most of the betel quid chewers who betel quid there was taxi driver, company car driver, sales promoter, and hard laborer who went to work with their lunch boxes. The researcher observed his business and talked informally with him when he had time. He was quite frank and he became one of the key informants later. Therefore, observation and preparation were done at the same time.

Observations were also made at other crowded places. The researcher visited around the supermarket, banks, wholesales markets, hospitals, bus terminals and railway station. She observed mainly around the cycle stands, loading and unloading places, and the places where the staffs, the workers normally took a rest for their lunch or had a break. She tried to see the betel chewers working conditions, their physical and mental suffering, and their social dealing among themselves and with their surroundings and observed their betel chewing practice in general.

The researcher visited some informants' houses to see their traditional practice related to betel quid used for religious purposes, to see their family relationship, economic status and betel chewing practice at home. She did observe their environment and look around the availability of betel stalls in their living environment. The researcher normally stopped at the nearby betel stall, the place where the informants used to buy betel quid. The researcher talked informally with the betel quid seller to know the social network between the betel quid chewer and their environment. She also enquired upon the type of betel quid, the amount and the frequency of informant normally bought in order to validate the finding from the interviewee.

The researcher followed some participants to their work places such as jade market, iron framing work and car workshop. Their working environment, working conditions, their relationships with their colleges and their boss and how betel chewing was being practiced in their working contexts were observed in order to support the findings from the in-depth interviews.

3.4.2 Key informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with four persons from different fields. One betel seller, one high school teacher, one university teacher and one young

men's leader were involved. The interviews were carried out separately according to their availability and the place convenient for them. For the betel quid seller man, the interview was carried out at his betel quid stall; there were several times continued discussion while he was doing his business. By doing interviews with him at the same time researcher did observe the points related to the discussions in order to support the obtained information from the discussions. For the high school teacher, the interview was conducted at his tuition and the interview with the university teacher was done in his sister's house. The young men's leader was interviewed at his home, which is about 20 minutes drive from researcher's residence.

In interviews, usage of betel quid, cultural beliefs and perceptions upon betel quid chewing practice, betel quid market and betel quid control law and betel quid chewer population were discussed. Besides, their views on the general socioeconomic situation, community relationship at local area, educational interest, behavior and moral status of today young adult men were also discussed.

3.4.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Two FGDs were conducted separately with the involvement of five 20-23 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men and five 26-40 years old lower middle socioeconomic class betel quid chewer men.

FGDs with lower life skill young betel quid chewer men were conducted in August. It was organized with the support of the young men's leader who was one of the key informants. He collected the betel quid chewers from his network, including jade broker, fuel transfer, and iron frame worker. However, it took time to organize due to their availability. Some had holiday twice in a month which were on the full moon day and end of the Myanmar calendar month. Some had to work any time according to the availability of work such as fuel transfer, he had to work whenever the motor boat carried the fuel arrived to the jetty. Nevertheless, the researcher tried to patient and wait for their availability. With the effort of the young man leader, finally the FGDs was organized at his house in one evening. It was not so convenient since they looked all worn up from their work. Due to the request from the researcher, he himself helped as a note taker and facilitator because he understood about research more after participated interview with researcher.

Another lower middle socioeconomic group adult betel quid chewer men FGDs was conducted in October. It was organized with the support of one in-depth interview informant. Due to his uncertain schedule, the researcher had conducted an in-depth interview with him first a few days prior to FGDs, so that he was not involved in the FGDs although the participants were recruited from his network. The participants he organized included photographer, artist, photo frame maker and the seller. However, it was difficult to organize because they were all business men with different demand and different free time related to their work and their family. However, the discussion could organize in one afternoon after carefully arranged for a long time. At the beginning, the meeting was set up at the tea shop where was noisy and it was impossible to hear the conversation clearly. Recognizing that, the researcher suggested them better changed to another place where was quiet enough to be able to record the discussion and the place they felt free to discuss. The researcher explained them the reason why she wanted to change the place and why she wanted to do record on discussion. She expressed how precious were their information and her respect to their effort of participation and taking considering to their availability and impossible to reorganize meeting for several times. They also realized and appreciated the suggestion. Then they tried to find out a place themselves. Finally the discussions were carried out at the monastery compound located in front of the tea shop. Luckily the informant who organized the FGDs was available on that day so he participated as a note taker and organized the venue and participants for FGDs.

In both FGDs the researcher was introduced by the organizers. After that the researcher explained detail about the research, the ethic, their right of participation in the research. The researcher explained them the needs to take record on discussion and take the photo and asked for their agreement. Due to the information from the original resource persons it seemed they knew the researcher's status as a medical doctor. However, after the detailed explanation and additional information sharing from the organizers about their interviewed experiences with the researcher, both FGDs could conduct with very active participation under lively conditions. Being aware of a medical person was a privilege that the researcher was not going to harm them so that it was rather supportive in trust building.

Both FGDs took about four hours due to their active participation. Digital recording was done throughout the discussion and some photos were taken during the discussions. In the discussions, the general idea about the betel quid usage in religious and social issues, type of popular betel quid and the common type of betel quid chewer population were discussed. Also, their perceptions on what does men should be look like, today's young men characteristics, their common interests, their leisure activities, the job nature and availability, factors leading to the commencement of betel quid chewing and general information on its practice among their age groups men were also discussed actively. Though the researcher was immersed in the discussion, at the same time she remained alert to moderate, encourage, monitor and adjust according to the conversation throughout the FGDs. The researcher carefully observed the behavior, the freedom and the way they expressed. They were noted down to support the validity of obtained information.

After discussion, a few minutes of informal discussion were continued under actively, lively, comfortable and relax atmosphere. They were called for any questions about their interest. At the same time the present and the small amount of money was given to all participants and thanks to their participation.

3.4.4 In-depth interviews

Five informants from 20-25 years old lower life skill young betel quid chewer men and five informants from 26-40 years old lower middle economic class adult betel quid chewer men were recruited voluntarily in this study.

Before reaching to the step of interviewing, there was a long way of follow up and informal discussion to build rapport with them and to get their voluntary participation. Even so, when the actual interviews came true, the researcher explained each participant again about the research, the ethic and their right of participation. After making sure of their understanding, the researcher confirmed their voluntarily participation with oral consent and asked their agreement on the tape recording, note taking and photo taking. The interviews were carried out after getting their agreement.

Some of the informants knew researcher's status as medical doctor due to the information spread from the network persons. However, the researcher repeatedly explained them about her current status. She did ensure them again and again

throughout the interview that she was not going to judge on whatever information they shared with her. She made them feel ease through explaining that the collected data would be analyzed with prioritization of finding upon the cultural belief rather than to evaluate from a medical point of view. She promised them all the information was kept confidential so as to make them feel free to share without any reluctance. At the same time the researcher explained them the needs of digital recording and note taking during conversation and obtained their agreement. However, very limited numbers of photos were taken during the conversation due to the inconvenient and reluctant of some participants.

In-depth interviews were conducted at different places according to the convenience of the participants. Four young and three adult interviewees were interviewed at their workplace. The researcher could see their working environmental contexts, their working condition, social relationship between working colleagues and boss and how betelquid was used in their social relationship and how they practiced it. Another one adult informant was interviewed at researcher's relative house where was also his familiar place and the remaining one young informant and one adult informant were interviewed separately at different tea shops according to their recommendation. The time of the interviews was varied according to their availability. Some were taken in the early morning 6:00 AM and some were taken in the afternoon.

In the interview, their detailed personal history about their family, education, occupation was jumped into the conversation carefully depending on the atmosphere of interview. The semi-structured questionnaire was kept in mind to provide some guidance for interview. In interview, how their betel chewing was started and what are their beliefs and perceptions and their experiences on betel quid chewing practices were asked. The researcher patiently listen to them with the informant centered approach in order to express her interest, respect and not to embarrass them with interruption but asked many questions. Some questions were probed following the information they gave so that they could see the researcher's interest and the information was shared more actively and lively.

All the interviews last about 3-4 hours. Similar to FGDs, a few minutes of informal discussion was continued under relax condition after interview. The informant was called for any questions about their interest, then the present and a

small amount of money was given to the participant and thanks to his participation. At the same time, the agreement on the next follow up meeting was requested. The participant was explained that they will be informed upon the needs after the researcher reviewed the current collected information.

In the follow-up meeting, the missing points were mainly focused first in order to get the complete picture in relate to their betel chewing practices. After that, main points of previous discussion were asked again to validate the data and at the same time member checking was done.

3.4.5 Field notes writing

All activities in relation to research that had done every day, the objective findings, the subject feelings, interpretation and suggestions obtained from observation, chatting and interview were jotted down in the field note writing. In addition, the mistakes and the problems that the researcher encountered during her daily research process were also jotted down for the lesson learnt. The missing points during the interview and observation were noted in the memo so that those were focused in the following days.

All daily field notes than elaborated and integrated with the findings from the interviews, FGDs and observations so that a holistic picture with regards to the research objective was produced.

3.5 Research instruments

The research instruments included:

- 1) Interview guidelines
- 2) Focus Group Discussion guidelines
- 3) Observation guidelines
- 4) Notebook and pen for note taking
- 5) Audio recorder for voice recording
- 6) Field notes
- 7) A camera
- 8) A notebook computer

In addition to the above mentioned items, researcher herself was also performed as a research instrument. More importantly, she was the main guiding instrument involved throughout the whole process in order to achieve the research objective.

The guidelines for interviews and FGDs were developed based on the conceptual framework and translated into Myanmar. The guidelines were modified accordingly based on the understanding and feasibility encountering during practice. Voice recorder was used throughout the process of interviews; FGDs to back up any information because some information might be missed in note taking. It was also used during observation to voice record on what the researcher found, felt, obtained from the observation and the ideas came out at that moment. It was rather convenient than taking a note in front of the public or to jump into a note taking during informal conversation.

The camera was carried along the researcher throughout the research process. The relevant photo was tried to be taken during observation and after getting approval from the participants during interviews and FGDs in order to complement the findings.

The field note was counter checked and completed field note was expanded at the end of every interviews, FGDs and observations by combining the information from both note taking and voice recording.

3.6 Study period

The whole study period was from July 2013 to March 2014. Period for data collection was from mid July to December 2013 and final analyzing and report writing was from January – March 2014.

The research was starting from finding out of two key resource persons in the second week of July soon the researcher return back home. Starting from that time observations was followed in order to support for study area selection and participant recruitment. In the third week of July, some key informants were identified. Along with the observation and recruitment process, some key informants were interviewed. The first FGDs with young betel quid chewer men was able to organize at the end of

August and the second FGDs with adult men was done in October. In-depth interviews were carried out from August and December and participant observations was carried out throughout the of the data collection period. The collected data were soon transcribed and analyzed in order to be able to find out the missing point and to validate the consistency of information. Interpretation and report writing was carried out between January and March along with the content analysis.

3.7 Data processing and analysis

Data processing and data analysis was done along with the data collection. After each and every observation, interviews and discussions, the information was jotted down as field note. Immediately, the jotted field notes were expanded with the transcribed data from the voice recorder and translated into English. The expanded data were read time by time and the researcher made sense of the data. Then field notes were coded with open coding. The coded data were sorted, organized and analyzed and checked for validity, consistency with the data collected earlier and missing data were filled up in the followed up the meeting.

Content analysis was used for data analysis. All the data were classified. The coding was validated by major advisor and the same categorized groups were organized in a thematic approach.

3.8 Validity of the data

3.8.1 Researcher's identity and trust building

As research is a sensitive issue, particularly for the Myanmar population who were unfamiliar with it and the nature of people was reluctant to talk officially and be involved in a public event. Building trust between the researcher and informants was the most essential task. It was not only necessary for smooth operation of research, but also to ensure the data provided from informants were true, qualify, no bias and reliable. Therefore, verification of research identity, friendship establishment were important elements to build trust for this study.

Being a woman to conduct research with male informants, the researcher encountered many of the difficulties. The researcher introduced herself that she was the same residential population with them from the Mandalay city; subsequently she let them know that currently she was a student and the researcher from Mahidol University. The researcher showed them her student ID card and started explaining them the purpose of visiting. All these information were crucial to do in the very first step of introduction as it would be strange for a woman whom they were unfamiliar with, visiting and following them purposelessly.

The researcher took time to visit them. The researcher let them know that she was familiar with diverse gender population. She explained them from her previous working experiences and telling them she have many brothers and nephews similar to their age in her family.

The researcher dressed in a free style with sport shirt and longyi. She behaved lively and talked frankly with them without any gender concern and showed off her friendliness towards them. However, her identity of being a medical person had been spread out among some of the participants, particularly those recruited from the network of her resource persons. Therefore, the researcher had to overcome this problem by repeatedly explaining them about her current interest. She explained that she was not going to judge on whatever information they shared and all of them would be kept confidential. As such, trust building was done and made them felt free to share without any reluctance throughout the discussions. However, being aware of a medical doctor form a privilege that the researcher was not going to harm them so that it was rather strengthened the trust building.

The interviews were conducted after getting familiar with them. However, researcher remained herself to avoid power relationship as being a medical doctor and a graduate student and try to be a lay person as them with inter-subjectivity approach. It was not that easy to put her into the male society. It was not due to the researcher afraid of them, but they might reluctant with researcher. However, the researcher appreciated their behavior, ideas and feeling. Understanding about their situation and the perspective they hold, the researcher gave prioritize to them according to their context. The researcher felt sympathy with their social suffering, social unjust and

inequality. Sympathy to their feeling and respect of their opinion was important and necessary throughout the process in pursuing and sustaining trust from them.

The researcher paid attention without any interruption during conversation and respected to their beliefs, ideas, the concept they hold and their behavior without making judgment on it.

3.8.2 Reflexivity

Researcher kept herself conscious to be aware of her own bias which might arise and influence the data collection and the interaction with informants. This bias could arise from researcher's personal status, previous knowledge and experiences, educational status, and theoretical assumption hold in this research. Therefore, the researcher reminded herself to remain in a new identity as a researcher and pay full attention from the insider point of view.

3.8.3 Member checking

Creswell (2003, p. 204) mentioned that the informants themselves could be regarded as the member for checking throughout the process of data analysis. Therefore the collected data were read out and fine tuning was done together with the informants in the subsequent meeting. The information they provided in the first time had been confirmed and the missing information was filled up.

3.8.4 Methodological triangulation

Triangulation has been proved to be an effective tool to enhance the research outcomes credibility. The triangulation method depends upon the application of several different research tools to reduce the bias within the data and to establish convergent results (Ghrayeb, Damodaran, & Vohra, 2011). Methodological triangulation was the most prominent forms of triangulation by evaluating the data collected from different data collection methods (Ghrayeb et al., 2011). In this research triangulation was done with the data collected from different methods such as in-depth interviews, FGDs and observations. In addition, theoretical triangulation was done by applying different theoretical lens in supporting this research achieved the objective.

3.8.5 Methodological limitation

The nature of the qualitative research itself, such as conducting through face to face interview and discussion might not be the best way of research method if gender differences and the freedom of speech existed. According to the experiences obtained from this study, some participants asked that why the researcher did not provide them questions in paper so that they could answer and return back. This might be a possible way to take into consideration in the future research methods. It might be able to avoid any inconvenient of direct face presentation and might facilitate free elaboration and get more fruitful results.

The information from FGDs might be bias depending on the familiarity between the participants. The familiarity of the participants might determine the full expression of their own idea as follows on someone's idea might happen in case of a very familiar situation. In contrast to that limitation of expression might occur among the unfamiliar persons because, in Myanmar, normally the sense of stranger hinders their free interpretation. They were worried about being judged by others on their opinion. In this research, due to the difficulty of recruitment, some of the participants in FGDs were close to each other, therefore some of the information they provided might not represent their own idea. They might follow someone's idea due to reluctance to debate as they might worry to effect to someone's dignity or they were insult to someone if they against to their idea.

No matter how the reflexivity was done, the theoretical background and the embodied concepts might bias the researcher's participant observations and interviewing. As qualitative study was focused on interpretation and narration of findings, so language barrier and capacity of interpretation of the researcher might distort some original data.

3.9 Ethical Consideration

Ethical practices were important in social sciences research (SRA, 2003). The researcher sat for the online Institutional Review Board (IRB) exam and the result was submitted to the IRB of Mahidol University for conducting the research before

going to the field. This research was conducted after getting the approval from the IRB, Mahidol University.

3.9.1 Privacy

Although this research seemed to include no sensitive issue, however, considering the enabling environments for free communication and to be able to generate out more fruitful information, the location of the interviews was adjusted and chosen based on the participant's wellbeing, and the privacy and safety of the both researcher and informants.

3.9.2 Informed consent

Recognition of participants' rights was the respect of them (Orb, Eisenhauer, & Wynaden, 2000). The informants were explained about all the rights include the right to be sufficiently informed about. They were also explained about the right of free decision upon the research participation, the right to withdraw at any time for any reason, the right of decision on mentioning their real name or pseudonyms in the research report.

The translated information sheets including all above mentioned information and researcher's identity and contact address were given to the participant to validate that researcher was part of their community and for any necessary inquiry and contact. After getting their understanding and willingness to participate voluntarily, the informants were recruited with oral consent. The aim of taking oral consent was to allow participant felt comfortable and participated without any psychological disturbance. Besides, this research was not a sensitive study but intended to know the meanings, beliefs, behavior, practices and experiences of betel chewer. Permission of tape recording, note taking, photo taking was asked before starting of every discussion and interviewing.

3.9.3 Confidentiality

This research focused mainly on cultural oriented issues. It was expected there would be less sensitive issues arisen, however, preventing from being harmed and feeling of well being of participants was important in conducting qualitative

research. Thus, all participants' identification such as names and places were replaced with pseudonyms started from the field notes and in all reports. Every information and experience shared by informants was invaluable and they were kept secret. All the materials used in this study were granted under safety. In addition, the approval of the utilization and publication of their provided information in direct quotations in the report was asked.

3.9.4 Benefit and reciprocity

A small gift and some amount of money were provided after interviewing as a token to compensate their time sharing and appreciation of their contribution at the end of interviews and discussions. At the same time a forum of discussion was opened for them to call for the question. Some were interesting about the relation of betel quid chewing and its outcome health risks. The researcher explained them the information she got from literature reviewed and WHO report about the relationship and she did share them the worse experiences encountered in Thailand before and the success story they had achieved. Some were happy to hear about the cultural value of betel quid existed in other countries. Some expressed their feeling that they had never thought of betel quid chewing was such meaningful. They appreciated the wise knowledge of the researcher and the effort that the researcher had put into this research. They looked delighted on their participating in the research when they knew that literatures are the main sources of information for study, so that they were happy to be the resources of this study.

Therefore, it was expected that at the end of the research period, the informants gain the knowledge about the negative health impacts resulting as the consequences of betel quid chewing and they will apply for their self control. It was also hoped that they understand about the nature of research and they can break out the barrier that hinders their free exploration and participation in any particular events due to sense of insured. So that to allow their voice and idea heard by others.

The findings and evidences gained from this research are expected to be shared with the health policy maker and ensure that betel quid control is being addressed properly in tobacco control programs. The culturally oriented and gender based education program related to betel quid chewing is developed and applied

effectively in health program. Moreover, new knowledge of contemporary social and cultural value of betel quid and betel quid chewing is shared to the concerned department and documented.

The conduct of researcher was important while doing field work. As there was a two-way relationship between researcher and study community, it was important to keep in mind to put the researcher in the same status with the study population. It was important to treat them with equal status as they would expect to be treated from others. The friendship environment with the participants was built under mutual respect on their right. The beliefs, traditions, the culture value and social meanings of betel quid existed there should be continued without any judgment.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this findings chapter, the general context of Mandalay City was described first in order to provide the readers better understanding the structural situation of the study area. The collected findings contributed to the popularity of betel quid chewing were followed in the latter part of this section.

4.1 General Contexts of Mandalay city

Mandalay was the royal capital of last two kingdoms. It had been founded by King Min Tone in 1857 from being residing in Amarapura. The whole royal city was called “Yadanabon” means city of jewels. Afterwards it was called Mandalay after the Mandalay Hill, which was located at the northeast corner of the present city. The city was structured in squares and rectangular shapes, with streets and roads crossing one another at right angles. There were four parts dividing the city, namely, Ashe-pyin (Eastern Part), Anok-pyin (Western Part), Taung pyin (Southern Part) and Myauk-pyin (Northern Part).

It was situated 445 miles (716 Km) north of Yangon. It was resting on the east bank of the Irrawaddy River surrounded by the Patheingyi Township in the east, Madaya Township in the north and Amarapura Township in the south. The city had gradually extended its territories from 19 sq mile in 1965 to 64 sq mile (163.84km²) in 2008. Along with the new administrative system, in 1992, Mandalay city had been officially reformed with the inclusion of five townships namely Aung Myay Tha Zan, Chan Aye Tha Zan, Ma Ha Aung Myay, Chan Mya Tha Zi and newly extended Pyi Gyi Dagon Township (MDAO, 2013)



Figure 4.1 Map of Mandalay City showing five townships

Aung Myay Tha Zan was the Township situated at the northern most of Mandalay. It was the home of the city where most famous historical places were collected. Among which Mandalay Palace was decorating the historical inheritance of the city; 776 feet high Mandalay hills allowed to overview the beauty of Mandalay city and Kuthodaw Pagoda where had the world's largest books inscribed 15 books of Tripitaka on 729 stones.

Succeeding to the south of Aung Myay Tha Zan Township was the Chan Aye Tha Zan Township. It was so called downtown and business hub of the city. It was the most modernized area of Mandalay City, where the biggest shopping center, *Zegyo* wholesale market; international standard hotels, tertiary care hospitals, University of Medicine and most of the important government offices were located.

South to Aung Myay Tha Zan Township was Maha Aung Myay Township. It was known to be the major residential area of the City. Mandalay University had placed it in the most highly pleased, active and interested place before the university was moved to a suburb of the city in the 20th century.

Chan Mya Tha Zi was the fourth township located at the south-central of the city where the Maha Muni Pagoda formed its main tourist attraction.

Pyi Gyi Dagon Township was located at the most southern part of the city. It was the home of the industries, the bus terminals and many mechanical workshops. It was also the newly extension area where the majority of the vulnerable was collected and hence was the NGOs' interesting place.

It was laid on the central of Mandalay-Madaya plain structured a paddy granary from rich land resources. However, its geographical characteristic of lower plain, 250 feet above sea level still put the drainage system of Mandalay in the problem. Although heavy raining day was countable many roads, including main roads were flatted with remarkably troublesome to the community in every raining season. In addition, Mandalay was belonged to the central dry zone with extreme weather of hot and dry seasons. Long duration of hot and dry summer season last about half year from February to July (MRHD, 2011) with highest temperature up to 42.5°C (MDAO, 2013). Raining season was short from August to October. The cold weather started from November to January and the temperature could be lower down up to 10.8°C.

Mandalay had been the city prominent of culture and the religious heart of Buddhism. There were many Buddhist monastery and more than 700 Buddha statues were founded for worship (MRHD, 2011). Maha Muni Pagoda was the most exalted Pagoda no one couldn't stay without visited it when came to Mandalay. Others such as Church, mosques, Hindu and Chinese temples could also be seen. Among the residential community majority were Buddhist, whereas Islam stood for second common religion and the rest were belong to Christian and Hindu (MDAO, 2013).

Every Buddhist family put their altar with Buddha images in the high position in their house. Local gods' shrine could also be seen in a corner inside or outside of the building. Some families' offered the betel quid to their local gods in special spiritual days. Being the Buddhist city, pagoda festivals were almost celebrated every month.

Candle lighting festivals normally conducted in the full moon day of October. All the platforms around the pagoda, particularly Maha Muni pagoda, were offered with various designs of candle lighting. Robes offering festival was another famous one hold in the full moon day of November. The cloth and the robes to be offered to Maha Muni Buddha statue were weaved in competition on the platform of the pagoda. The weaving was starting from preparing of raw cotton to the formation of final products had to be finished within one day. Kyauk Taw Gyi Pagoda festivals were the largest festival in Myanmar as it combined festivals from three pagodas situated around an area at the foot end of Mandalay Hill.

The festival was normally complemented with *Anyeint* (traditional Myanmar dances) and *Zat Pwe* (traditional performances) at night time and traditional plays such as rattan ball playing on the ground of a pagoda at day time. Those were the unique traditional performances of Myanmar beautiful culture which were no longer common in the larger city such as Yangon, the former capital of Myanmar, when the modernity had washed away the traditional practices.

In addition to pagoda festivals, Nat Pwe (spiritual festival) played an indispensable role in Myanmar life. Been suffering from economic insufficiency, many people could not stay away from relying on the *Nat* (spirit) believing that they had the supernatural power to support them materialized their wishes by offering donation items and intone the pledge of allegiance. The most famous *Nat Pwes* were

Taung Pyone and Yadana Gu which were celebrated in August. Besides, Christian and Chinese New Year Festivals were also widely celebrated.

Aside from religious festivals, water throwing festival in April was the most enjoyable festival in Myanmar. Washed out of the bad luck, dirty things and welcoming the Myanmar New Year in the clean and fresh condition. The palace, with the moat surrounding with water formed the water source for endless enjoyment when it was coupled with stage show and entertainment. It was the unique characteristic of Mandalay that attracted the entire nation, people to come together. Mandalay was also the home of Myanmar's traditional crafts, particularly sculpture, brass and bronze, gold embroidery and gold leaf that denoting its historical heritage.

Mandalay was located at the center of Myanmar. It is linked to the whole nation through the rail, road, river and the air. Asian High Way Road AH14 so called Mandalay-Lashio-Muse road was the vital business skeleton of China and Myanmar border trade business that brought nowhere had no China goods and filling the basic commodities with affordability in the residential area. AH1 was another road that brought industrialized smokeless tobacco products from India via Mandalay-Sagaing-Monywa-Kalewa-Tamu road (United Nations. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2003) There was one jetty for an Ayeyawaddy river cruise to some regions and tourism sightseeing. One domestic airport and one international airport located 45 km away from the city were serving the air link domestically and internationally. There were three major bus terminals running with 274 bus lines and two truck terminal transporting goods with 302 truck lines nationwide. The developed in the transportation facilitated people interconnection and caused lifestyle changes through communication with the outside world.

Although, there were 46 bus lines carrying people around towards the *Zegyo* wholesale market, however, due to its geographical strength of being the plain area and the economic status of the population, most of people depend on bicycle for the convenient and affordable traveling. Riding motor became fashion again and it was the style demanded by many young men. This cultural practice caused Mandalay stacked with the traffic and leaving many unaffordable classes encountered unmet socioeconomic stress in the city so called "*Cycle Myo Taw*" (city of motor bike). Nobody who had been to Mandalay disagree with this given social norm of the city.



Figure 4.2 Mandalay city is traffic with motor bikes

The health care system for the residential population seemed relied mainly on the western medical services which were offered from public hospitals, Rural Health Centers and Maternal and Child Health Center. There were 19 private hospitals, 53 specialized clinics and 512 general practitioners available for health services to those who were affordable. Mandalay remained the center of health care for upper Myanmar people. Nonetheless, there were 35 International Non Government Organizations (INGOs) and 22 local NGOs implemented in health intervention and other 47 INGOs worked in development affairs and disaster risk reduction (MDAO, 2013) in collaborating with government to fill up the gaps.

There was no health security system, health care was of own responsibility. Everybody had to pay for entire cost except consultation fees in public health center whereas it costs 100% in private clinic. For affordable people, private hospitals were their health care choice whereas for those elite they flew to foreign countries especially to Bangkok and Singapore and limited number to China and India. Some poor people even couldn't reach to government health services although health care utilization should be the right for everybody.

Mandalay had undergone upgrading its educational coverage with 9 universities and colleges, 31 high schools, 23 middle schools, 264 primary schools and 39 monastery schools (MDAO, 2013). However, it could not draw the educational interests of young people since the educational scheme had long been demolished by the military. In fact, young men's interest in education had been deteriorating since the

20th century. Due to the fact that, students had played a prominent role in history of the 1988 political protest, the military government had taken various steps and changed the higher education system. They made it harder for the students to gather in the grounds. Many universities had been moved to the suburbs and city outskirts in order to keep them separate and to surround the universities in the event of an uprising.

Students found difficulty since then to continue their study. The extra cost of transportation, money for meals, time consuming for commuting had become the major burden for the insufficient family. Moreover, the newly replaced university was established with the unmet university's structures. There was no more romantic as what the young men had dreamed, had heard from their senior and they had watched in the movie.

Although much effort had put for the education, undeveloped condition of the nation itself was not ready to offer job opportunity for young men. At the same time, distance education system was introduced and it became popular as it fit with the economic status of the general community. At the same time people could work and studying, they could contribute to family and attending for their life skill training.

This strategized management changed the culture of university life and educational wisdom of young men. Therefore, some young men started to enjoy their student life by referencing what other students did since they were a high school student. Some students think that university was the ground for practicing. They perceived that being the students were the opportunities for enjoying. Nevertheless, the average literacy rate in Mandalay Region had been reported to be 91% (MRHD, 2011).

This second highest populated city had been rushed rapidly into the developed and modernized city. Its economic potential attracted for high population. It accommodated about 1373081 populations comprising 47% male and 53% female with 71% of adult age population with 20.000/sq mile (7500/km²) of population density living in 150000 households and 180000 families (MDAO, 2013).

Main ethnic dwellers were *Bamar* (Burmese) and Shan people (MRHD, 2011). Foreigners such as Chinese, Indian and Pakistanis account for the second largest population, and the rest were Kachin, Kayin, Chin, Rakhin, Kayar, Mon ethnic

people. Taking the opportunities of 1980s fire outbreaks, huge swaths of land left vacant were called for the larger investment that most of local dwellers were not affordable. In coincidence with the economic sanction by western countries, China became the great business neighborhood of the country. The devastated fire lands were later purchased mostly by the ethnic Chinese. Today, the Chinese population occupied about 30%-40% of city's population (Tournier, 2010). It formed a common Burmese complaint that Mandalay was becoming a *Ta Yoke Myo* (China Town). Nonetheless, Burmese was the main language of communication.

The transition of centrally planned economic system to the market-oriented system, the role of private sectors had booming up significantly (WHO, 2012). The reconstitution towards democratic and the free trade economy also strengthen the elite groups monopolized the market economy. Economic insufficiency of the family dedicated the poor to release their right of processing their parents' property, so that the poor and the lower middle class who had limited resources was pushed aside from downtown towards the suburb area of the city. This noticeable displacement gave a native Burmese felt like Mandalay city as "an undeclared colony of Yunnan". The rapid development with inequity leading towards class widening and thus more people encountered with suffering.

Although there were about thirty thousand private businesses in Mandalay (MDAO, 2013), many people worked only in lower life skills and unstable self running small business. The majority of lower life skill workers were residing in the suburb of Aung Mya Tha Zan, Chan Mya Tha Zi and Pyi Gyi Dagon townships where the area extension occurred. Some were working as industrial workers and lower life skill workers in mechanical servicing center, whereas some run a small retail business in their township. The majority of people were commuting outside as a construction worker, hard laborer, cycle taxi driver and a mobile betel quid seller. Commuting to and from among their residents to the downtown area by bicycle or motorbike became the routine activity of the majority of working age people. It was noted that more than 15% of dwellers were still jobless (MDAO, 2013).

The economic hardship together with the influx of varieties of facilities and entertainments placed people into more stressful condition. The economic stress with high demand pushed both parents to work outside, leaving children at home

accompanying with modern technologies such as TV and portable game machine. Young adult males who grew up in that isolated world became more individualistic with less openness. The changes in character of young men weaken the family bonds with less obedient and conformity to family relationships. The poor family relationship opened gateway for young men to enjoy, depend and trust with their peers that gave young men high opportunity of following their practices.

Myanmar had currently paced up the information and communication system, especially in information and technology development. In Mandalay, 31.41% of population own mobile phone for communication. Internet accessible was also enhancing (MDAO, 2013). Surfing the internet and playing game were the latest cultural change in today Mandalay society.

The introduction of soccer TV program affected life of the community. All age men were enjoyed with soccer TV program, it became one of their hobbies. They watched it not only for entertainment, but also for their business. The uncertainty made them frequently encountered failure so that they became more prone to jump into the practice that helped coping with their stress. As such, many beer stations, liquor shops, betel stalls and tea shops appeared as the commonplaces of stress management.

In conclusion, Mandalay was composed of multicultural society. It was rich in terms of ethnicity, cultural heritage and modernism. The atmosphere of the current Mandalay city seemed to develop with modernized buildings, nice and sophisticated facilities. The environment had stuffed with all classes of people busy and rushing in every minute of their availability. However, the inequity of business opportunity shaped a clear social class, demarcating the poor and the rich with distinct residential location and occupation. It was highlighted that the majority of people living in Mandalay were suffering from social injustice. They were threatening with the economic insufficiency due to inequity.

Many today's young adult men became contracted with beating the soccer TV program. It became one of their major side businesses. Illegal buying of *Na Lone Hte* (two digit Thai stock share lottery, twice in every week day) also cultured across all classes, genders and ages in today Mandalay community to compensate their economic needs. This high demand drove people into poverty. The combination of

financial hardship and the poor educational standard pushed them exposure to the workplace early. The inequity of health service accessibility also socialized people's concepts as dead and dying were the natural process that no one could be escaped. That perception activated them to liberate their enjoyment regardless of awareness of outcome consequences.



Figure 4.3 Modernized building vs. small shelter with betel stall in downtown Mandalay city

4.2 Social characteristic of interviewed informants

The age of participants ranged from 19 to 34 years with an average age of 23 years old for the young male respondents and 31 years old for the adult men participants.

4.2.1 Family structure of interviewed informants

The majority of participants were native from Mandalay. Only one young and one adult interviewed man came from other townships for attending life skill training. Two interviewed young man came for a job opportunity and one young man was migrated along with the family for their better future. Among the informants, two young and one adult interviewed man were belonging to a single parent family. More than half of the informants were born from parents who were graduated, had achieved high school or middle school graduation level. Small numbers of them belonged to

parents who could read and write and only one young man informant parents were illiterate.

More than half of the young and adult men participated in this study came from the poor family conditions. They had encountered with incomplete parent, family conflict, and low socioeconomic condition or having multiple siblings. The majority of the informants had large family with 2-8 siblings. To bring up many children was one of the stressful conditions for some informant's family. Father was the responsible person to work alone for the poor socioeconomic conditions. Most of the fathers had no chance to select their work so as to lead the survival for the family. Many of the informants' fathers were farmers, some were hard laborers working at the jetty and railway stations for loading and unloading of goods, and the rest were government staffs, taxi driver and seller. They encountered economic insufficiency because of lower resources, poor technique in cultivation for farmers, poor job conditions with alienation for hard laborers and lower life skill personals and low pay for the government staffs and unstable economic for the self employees.

Most of the informants were single; only four out of ten got married. The majority of married men stayed in the extended family either with their or wife's family. Most of single men stayed with parents; only one young and one adult interviewed man stayed at workplace hostel and one adult interviewed a man stayed at the monastery.

Although some participants were married, they were not solely responsible for the family survival, particularly for those who stayed with extended family. They normally got support and care from their parents. That was the cultural practice had long been embedded in the Myanmar traditional family. The majority of single participants followed Myanmar customary practice; they normally contributed their income to the family. One young man informant with step mother had experienced with social injustice within the family and thereby forced him detached from his family.

Due to larger family size, majority of respondent encountered economic insufficiency that drove them contributed to their family. Their early exposure to the working society had defined them early exposure to betel quid chewing.

4.2.2 Occupation of interviewed informants

The majority of informants participated in this study were working in lower income jobs. More than half of the participants worked either as clerical staffs in a government department or as low technical employees in private business. Their income was ranged from 50000 *Kyat* (50US\$) to 150000 *Kyat* (150US\$). Small proportions were working on their own business, but it was highly unstable. The business conditions varied with the seasons and depending on political stability and economic situations in general.

For those with low educational level and less society networks particularly, who belonged to a government servant family, the government system dedicated them have no choice in their job selection and career development apart from working as government employees. It was important to them to secure a place for their living. Their socioeconomic conditions did not permit them to challenge for working outside due to deficiency of economic security in general. However, they had to work in whatever conditions for additional earning to compensate their low salary. One adult informant who was working as clerical staff at government office had to work as security guard at cycle taxi stand up to midnight. That working condition made him suffered from sleepy and boring, since that time he became affirm with betel quid chewing.

Hierarchical domination and class differentiation made two [the government staffs] informants encountered exploitation by their senior. They had to accept the blame they did do any mistake. One of them had to apple polish with betel quid to his seniors in order to get friendship and support from them. That was an economic burden for a low salary staffs. Similarly, another informant had considered of quitting from the job because of power imbalance on his job assignment.

For those who were working in the small private business, such as car workshop, goldsmith home industry and bed room apparatus shop had to attach with their current jobs in order to secure not to be a jobless. They worked under the demand of both customers and the owner. They had no objection on any urgency even they had to work up to midnight. The informant who worked at the goldsmith home industry frequently encountered with job stress. He was not only forced to finish two day's job

in a day, he also has to take responsibility for any loss due to quick processing. That made him felt disappoint and stress.

For those who worked for their own business such as those driving cycle taxi, who running the small home grocery shop and who was a photographer just had to be patient. Normally cycle taxi driver used to leave home around 8:00AM and worked until the market came to close. Keeping awake and searching the customers who came out from the market with his eagle eyes was his daily routine activity among the competence with other. Nevertheless, some days he had to end up without any business.

The development and high influx of electronic items including mobile phone made photographer get business stress. Due to economic insufficiency, majority of people prioritized social presentation in today's competing society. For instant, people preferred to heir a large ballroom for their reception, but subsidized the cost for video documentary and photo taking. They could enjoy with their available facilities with no considering of the quality. Since he was a new comer in his high competition society, he worked as both photographer and editor. He had to work hard often up to midnight in order to provide quicker and better service as much as possible so as to sustain his business.

Another informant was a swimming trainer. His job was not heavy but he had to start working from morning 6:00AM to the evening 6:00PM. As a swimming trainer, he had the responsibility on life saving of trainees, so that he had to be awake without any break throughout the whole working day. He felt ache and pain due to soak in the water for long time. No matter the trainees were changing and the weekend was coming, he had to keep on going without an off day in a week.

However, the majority of the participants had to satisfy with their current jobs, although they encountered inequity and insufficiency because it gave them a certain income and the status of occupancy. They dare not challenge unless there was certainty.

4.2.3 Educational status of interviewed informants

Less than half of informants involved in this study were graduated. The education of participants was ranged from grade 7 to a second year university student. Among five lower life skill young informants, one was stopped at diploma level and three were under graduated. Two of them had attended only up to middle school and one was up to high school. Majority of them stopped study due to poverty. Only one young informant was continuing study and worked part time at the time of study. More than half of the lower middle socioeconomic class adult men were graduated. Their educational career had been determined by the unbearable of parents as a result of having many siblings in the family. One informant had stopped at diploma level due to the needs to take care of his junior sibling.

In this study it was also revealed that parents' education and occupation had certain influence on their child's educational career. One respondent, who belonged to illiterate parents stopped from study and assisted to the farm because of his father's ideology which drove him to learn how to do cultivation. The education, occupation and the relationship of parents also influenced on educational interest of their children. One young man informant was brought up in the conflict family situation. His father became an alcoholic due to exploitation by his boss who served him alcohol instead of giving money for his labor force. When the young man looking at his mother was beaten by his drunken father daily, the informant started to find out the outlet to stay away from this suffering. As a consequence, young man failed in the exam because of no more interest on studying.

4.2.4 Family history of betel chewing practices

Out of 10 total informants, six informants had betel quid chewers in the family. They were their father, grandmother and uncle. The father of one young interviewed man was betel chewer as well betel seller when the informant was young. Among all 34 participants, there was only one key informant's family practiced traditional practice by the whole family member. It was the practice descended generation to generation in their family. One key informant himself was betel seller and other key informant was helping his girlfriend who sold betel quid.

The majority of betel chewer family members chewed only betel quid with dried tobacco and they mainly chewed after meal. Although there were betel chewers in their family, but not all were experienced with it. There were two informants had different perceptions of their seniors' betel quid chewing practice instead of practicing as them. One young informant tried to hide his father's betel quid because he perceived it as bad practice. Another one adult man informant did not want to prepare betel quid for his father to bring along to work because of no interest on it.

Only three interviewed young men were experienced with betel quid chewing during their child age around 6 years old. Among them, one chewed while he prepared for his grandmother. Another informant was fed by his grandmother with her chewed betel. The last one prepared by him because betel quid stall was his family occupation. All these conditions made participants familiar with betel quid chewing.

4.2.5 Family control on betel chewing practices

All the studied informants had been controlled, particularly by mother on their betel chewing practices. They were also controlled by other family persons including those who were betel chewers such as grandmother and father. They had been complaint from different point of views. Mostly they were reminded of cost money. The rest were betel quid chewing could lead to addiction, looked ugly and old, result in poor health outcomes, and affect to the personality. Family member tried to control their children with different approaches. Sometime they scolded them, but sometimes they tried to sooth them in another way around. Some participants even experienced of serious punishment such as slashed and hit by their brothers or fathers.

Another common complaint was because of exposure in young age. In Myanmar society, parents' care on their children was not only due to the responsibility but it was the traditional cultural practice. Therefore, in the eyes of parents, young men were less knowledgeable person, who could not make the right decision and thus easy to commit mistakes. These social norms shaped the societal view on the acceptance of betel chewing practice related with regards to the age of commencement. This study showed that there was less restriction if betel chewing practices occurred after grown up. Among all informants only one adult man was not

complaint by his parents and his chewing was started at 25 years of age and after he got married.

Almost all participants had been controlled and complaint since the beginning of their engagement, however, their cultural beliefs, their strong senses of masculinity had added forces to them for their further movement. So none of the informant had stopped their practice due to controlled by family, rather they kept on chewing secretly. When the family members gave up their control, the betel chewing practice had already firmly attached to the informants.

Summary

The social characteristic of informants showed that most of interviewed informants contracted with betel chewing practice from their workplace. The economic insufficiency and the poor family conditions had placed them early exposure to the workplace. Poverty created family conflicts, made people away from their education, brought people into the workplace, and subsequently poverty dedicated them exposed to the betel chewer community. Young men had no choice to select their job opportunity with their limited education. Their poverty determined their social networking. More than half of interviewed informants were working in related to their parents' occupation and networking, whereas some detached from the family and worked according to the availability.

No matter how they got to work and where they worked, they could work only in the lower life skill contexts. Those were the place normally full of betel chewers in their societies, with no regulation, but full of inequity, class differentiation and job alienation. It was low paid job, but over workload conditions. People working there were full of stress, felt boring and no self esteem. Therefore, almost everybody started betel quid chewing to relieve from suffering. Young men who had a high curiosity try to copy other people' practices when they were trapped in such society. Therefore, economic insufficiency and poor job condition were the root causes that triggered them to engage with betel chewing practices.

Table.4.1 Social characteristic of interviewed informants

Sr.	Pseudonym	Age (yr)	Education	Occupation	Sibling	Parents' Education	Parents' Occupation	Family condition	Family Practice	Early exposure
1	Ko Sai	20	2 nd year student	Taxi driver	2	Graduate	Car taxi driver	NR	Father	Yes
2	Ko Theik	22	Grade 7	Auto mechanics	5	Grade 9	Farmer	NR	Father, uncle	No
3	Ko Bo	24	Diploma	Store keeper	6	Graduate	Teacher	Inequity	NR	No
4	Ko Hein	24	Grade 9	Security officer	2	Grade 10	Laborer	Family conflict	Grandmother Uncle	Yes
5	Ko Tun	25	Grade 7	Taxi driver	4	Illiterate	Farmer	Step mother	Grandmother	Yes
6	Ko Aung	26	Graduate	Admin Staff	4	Graduate	Government staff	Economic insufficiency	NR	No
7	Ko Aye	30	Grade 8	Artisan	7	Read and write	Farmer	Single mom	NR	No
8	Ko Win	32	Graduate	Lawyer	8	Grade 6	Laborer	Economic insufficiency	Father	No
9	Ko Myint	33	Grade 10	Photographer	4	Graduate	Government staffs	NR	Father	No
10	Ko Naing	34	Graduate	Swimming trainer	4	Read and write	Seller	NR	NR	No

NR- Not Relevant

4.3 Social structural contexts of participants

4.3.1 Accessibility of betel quid in the community

4.3.1.1 Laws and Legislations

Tobacco control laws

Although “The Control of Smoking and Consumption of Tobacco Products Law” had been set up since 2006, it included only prohibition of tobacco advertisement, sold of tobacco products to less than 18 years old people and sold inside and within 100 feet of school compound, and designation of non-smoking area. Many activities implemented were related mainly with protecting people from tobacco smoke (MOH, 2009). Betel quid chewing was not specifically mentioned. Therefore, almost all the participants from the study had never heard about the official law in regards to betel quid control. This unclear specification made people unaware of betel quid chewing was an alternative way of tobacco consuming that was highly practiced in the community. In this study, only the key informants who were betel seller, university teacher and high school teacher had heard about this tobacco control law but no one could speak it out distinctly.

The only university teacher who was graduated from the law could roughly express about when the law had been set up and the lack of binding force and rules of law hinder its application came true. He reported that this issue had been recommended in the recent *Lutt Taw* (supreme legislative session) to re-enforce its application. He knew that policy also meant for the betel quid control because betel quid contained tobacco. The majority of participants also aware of this proposed issue.

The basic education school had been designated as tobacco free zone since 2002 (MOH, 2009). The government had circulated about prohibition of selling of smokeless tobacco in the government compounds since 2011 (Kyaing et al., 2012). But the prohibition of smokeless tobacco or betel quid sold to students less than 18 years of age and sold within 100 yards of school compound was not specified. In this study there were two informants realized the set policy and they believed this failure was due to weak application. They understood the prohibition was aimed to curb the student practice through exposure because most of young men’s betel quid chewing practices were learning and practicing from others.

46 years old, high school teacher reported disappointedly in regards to the manner of some school teachers about their lacked of discipline, broke the rules, smoked and chewed during the class. He admitted that there was almost no education program in all government schools. Although teachers repeatedly remind student to away from smoking, drinking and betel chewing, but it was the informal regulation. In contrast with government school, these practices had been defined as committing mistakes in some private schools and the students were under closed observation.

As a teacher, he had a strong concern on laws and regulations. He suggested that betel quid could be included as an addicted substance and betel quid stall should also be controlled from the licensure point of view. It should not sell to the children less than 18 years of age. If the tax was increased, the betel quid stall and betel quid chewer would be reduced automatically. Multi-sectoral collaboration between policy makers, NGOs, members and parents was needed.

Legislations on betel juice spitting

Spitting of betel juice was not allowed particularly in the majority of private places such as large hotels, big company, private school, and hospitals. Similarly, it was also prohibited in every important and larger public places such as pagoda, hospital, government compound, public park, departmental store, market and school compound. A notice with the warning of five thousands *Kyat* (around 156 Thai Baht) will be charged if violating the regulation was normally painted on the wall of the building where it could be see easily.

Although the government had circulated the prohibition of spitting chewed tobacco products in public places since 2011 (Kyaing et al., 2012), all the participants thought that it was the local area regulation set up by the municipal and its application varied according to the interest of local administrator. They belief it was set only for hygienic purpose. However, the notice and the limited number of dust pins for spitting of betel juice had been arranged in every place where the regulation had been applied and where the environmental sanitation was concerned.

The administrative system had a large, influential effect on people morality and dignity which in turns determined people's character and habit. As all private businesses were profit based, they could keep their facilities well

maintained. Their limited number of staffs was well motivated and disciplined with good pay from their generated income. Thus the physical appearance of private environment looked fresh, active with neat and tidy facilities and well alert human resources. Therefore, people who worked there and those who visited there felt reluctant to break the rules and regulation

Since public places were more in the nature of an open society with larger compound and the staffs were not motivated due to the class alienation and low paid salary. Hence it was difficult to make the set regulation functioning. Public places were the responsible of whole communities and everybody should self discipline to keep public places in protecting and maintaining. However, weak regulation allowed staffs working there and people visiting there with no respect rather negligence to the set rules and regulation. Therefore, many public places were still made up with red betel juice. The betel quid chewers still carelessly spit out on the way, at the corner of the building, the compound and every ground where had limited restriction.



Figure 4.4(A) Notice of no betel quid chewing and no spitting inside government offices

Figure 4.4(B) Warning of no betel juice spitting and notice of fine in the market

4.3.1.2 Price of betel quid

The price of betel quid was almost the same, although it tends to be changed according to season and the tobacco products used. It normally ranged from 3-4 quid per 100 *Kyat* (around 3 Thai Baht) for local tobacco products and 2-3 quid per 100 *Kyat* for imported tobacco products.

Majority of informants reported that cheaper price was one of the reasons that caused many young and adult men chewing it. Today, whatever form of snack cost more than 100 *Kyat*. Since many poor and basic life skills population remained in the country, betel became the only food accessible, particularly by those low income populations for their recreation. Some participants said that they had to prioritize which food was affordable for them since their income was limited. They said there was almost nothing available with such cheaper price that gave them higher satisfaction. They concluded that was the reasons why many lower socioeconomic populations were betel chewers. They said betel quid stalls formed the common places approach by their same class. That encouraged them to approach without reluctant when the rich and educated persons enjoyed at the expensive shops which was well equipped with high facilities. Thus its cheaper price formed the common ground and it opened gateway for the person with low income and the dependence affordable to it

Some respondents indicated that there would be less betel quid chewers, especially among the poor, if the tax and the betel quid price were increased. The 20% tax for betel quid with tobacco was very low in comparing to 75% of tax for cigarette (MOH, 2009). That low tax rate made betel quid available with the cheaper price in the market. That lower price motivated the smoker shifting from cigarette smoking to betel quid chewing due to different reasons. For instance, their encountered or perceived constraints related to cigarette smoking and their believed about cigarette smoking was relatively dangerous than betel quid chewing.

4.3.2 Availability of betel chewer and betel quid in the community

4.3.2.1 Prevalence of betel quid chewer men in the community

Betel quid chewers were scattered everywhere in every society. They appeared among the people moving in the community and who were working and resting under the building. They were visible individually on the road and

they could be seen among the men who were working, gathering and chatting. There was high opportunity to meet a person with red betel stained teeth whoever came in contact with. The betel chewers were around in the community outside home. They were the people who strayed on the road, who were rushing on the road, busy in their work, taking rest from tired, taking their leisure time and enjoying and killing their spare time.

In addition to the researcher's recognition, all the participants also reported that betel chewer was very prevalent, particularly in this era. They admitted about 80%-90% of men, particularly young and adult men were betel quid chewers. There was almost nowhere had no betel quid chewer and almost every person had experienced with it, at least once in their life time. As it was a form of common social practice, it was spread one after another. Some respondents emphasized that the prevalence of betel chewers in the community itself was a tool of advertisement that attracted young men became interesting on it. This study also found out that all the respondents involved in this study became betel quid chewers because of their closed contact with the betel chewers existed in their society. They were their friends, their family members, their co-workers and the community members.

High prevalence of betel chewers existed in the community gave young men high possibility and repeated frequency in contact with them. This repeated and consistent visualization aroused the curious young men to experiment with it. High prevalence of betel quid chewer among friend's society encouraged and stimulated young men to appreciate and had high esteem on their practices, thereby initiated them to follow other's practices. This was one of the factors underlie the majority of informants became contracted with betel quid chewing practice.

4.3.2.2 Favorable environmental contexts favor towards betel quid chewing practice

Cultural contexts of local area

Today cultural was changing into non-judgmental environmental context. The majority of the community perceived that everyone had their own freedom and own right to do whatever they liked. There would be no direct complaint unless it produced harmful societal effects. Therefore, people became more felt free to engage with betel quid chewing practice in today's social context.

In Myanmar culture, people loved to share what they were eating or drinking to the persons who around them as social duties and obligations. Gave a hand to others people showed that they were generous. They had well natured and known to care other. Likewise, people rarely objected when they were offered as response to others' kindness.



Figure 4.5 Sharing of betel quid to college in workplace

It was considered impolite to reject offered items for friendships and hospitality. Myanmar people also loved to share their experiences, particularly on what they believed. That kind of information sharing sometimes came up with peer encouragement. This cultural practice formed the gateway that replicated the betel quid chewer in the community.

The advancement of information and communication technology had a great impact on today's people life style and cultural practice. Many tea shops were equipped with free Wi-Fi. Sitting at the tea shop and having a cup of tea in the leisure time was the cultural practice since long time ago. Nowadays, tea shop attracted more peoples' attention and it became the socialized place for almost young and adult men. They went there not only for food, but also for social networking and relaxation. This way of socialization changed today young men's social relationship and social practice. Thus many business brokers appointed their customers at a tea shop for discussion.

Gathering at the beer station, Karaoke lounge and night club also the cultural practice of today's social networking for those who affordable and affectionate to drink. Chewing a quid of betel to relief from the sour taste after having tea and to hide the alcohol smell was the cultural belief of many communities. Hence

sharing of betel quid became coupled with the above social activities. Therefore, today Mandalay city is in the era of tea shops culture, beer culture and betel culture.

Betel quid chewing practice had been showed up by some performers in some Myanmar traditional fine art. This kind of public presentation changed the attitudes and perceptions of community on betel quid chewing. It was changed from what had been perceived as bad practice that people felt reluctant to chew in some society context, towards a positive perception. As a result, made people felt that chewing betel was nothing strange which in turn stimulated and encouraged people who had no experiences dare to experiment with it.



Figure 4.6 Betel stall stands in front of tea shop and social networking at tea shop

Lack of legal control on betel chewing and spitting practice in the lower class workplace

Although there was tobacco free zone, but it was not prohibited for betel quid chewing particularly in the majority of workplaces. As such, it was the convenient ground for the betel quid chewers to practice betel quid chewing freely. Some working environments provided the condition not only felt free to chew, but also no reluctant to spit out the betel juice, particularly in the lower life skill environment. They were open society, unclean places, and crowded area. They were the place mostly with wild land, area under renovation, places with natural environment where betel juice could be spit out easily.

There was almost no formal administrative regulation in those environmental contexts. Rather there was frank social relationship that broke the fear existed between employer and employee in the lower class workplace. Therefore, the favorable environmental contexts and loose social control were the grounded conditions allowed those people who worked there felt free to engage with betel chewing practice.



Figure 4.7 Red betel juice splashes spread over the open environment where lack of spitting control

4.3.2.3 Prevalence of betel stalls

Betel quid stalls present everywhere in the study area. There was at least one in a block of the street, but it was mushrooming up to minimum 2-3 at the workplaces and where had crowded population. They were the construction site, the bus terminal, railway station, the jetty, the market, the taxi gate, the pagoda, the hospital and other social gathering places. It was normally stood on a corner in front of the tea shop, restaurant, Karaoke lounge, beer station, night club, taxi stop, entrance of bus terminal and other public places.

The government had enacted the prohibition of SLT sold in the government compound since 2011. However, its application was weak and almost everybody did not aware of it. Therefore, many betel stalls were still appearing in front of and even inside some government compounds. In addition, the betel ingredients were mixed with other snack in a tray tied with the belt on the shoulder of a mobile seller make betel quid accessible and available everywhere.

Having betel stalls around was normal, rather no betel stalls would be strange in the cultural context of study area.

When study on why betel stalls was such prevalent in today's contemporary context of Mandalay city, it came up with two assumptions. One was supply and demand chain that made betel quid to fill up the needs of betel quid chewer. Due to the larger population of betel chewer, betel quid selling business became a good business that gave high profit with small investment. The betel quid products could also be taken from the wholesale trading market in advance that gave many low resources persons a chance to improve their economy. It had no space constraint as it was the small kiosk and it was none prohibited business. Although the sold of SLT had been prohibited, but it was limited only to the government compound and its application was still weak. Betel quid stall business became today's culture, particularly for those who were jobless and with fewer resources. Majority of the participants said that "if you didn't have money, just opened a betel shop" It was the socially accepted business nowadays.

Another reason was due to weak application of enacted laws.



Figure 4.8 Many betel stalls stand at the entrance of jade market

A high school teacher felt bad when many betel stalls appeared around the school with against to the set laws and many students became betel chewers. He criticized that highly distribution of betel stalls was the political strategy that intentionally allowed it grown up. Its individualistic physical presentation allowed political persons overlook the impact of betel quid chewing. Increasing marketing in betel quid selling was the strategy aimed to cover wider population engaged with addiction. As such, their attention on political interest would be diverted. Although all the participants aware of betel chewing addiction, but almost all of them naïve about this capitalist economic system.

The high prevalence gave the high frequency of exposure and thus high probability of accessibility to contract with it, particularly for those who had previous experience. Hein, 25 years old government staff said that he felt boring working at video tape rental shop alone whole day for a long time when he was 16 years old. One day he stood in front of his shop and looking for what could he do to relief from boring. A betel stall was the first one came into his vision. Only a betel stall was available nearest to his shop. He just went there straight away and bought it and chewed it because he had already experienced with betel quid in the past.

However, whether the larger population of betel chewer called for the appearance of betel stalls or because of higher prevalence of betel stalls made people high exposure and contact with betel quid was still under debate in the community.

4.3.2.4 Betel quid products and chewing patterns

Kun-Yar (betel quid) was normally prepared simply in the traditional way in the past with slaked lime splash over the *Kun Ywat* (betel vine leaf) and smeared *sharsay* (catechu) over it. On which small pieces of cut areca nut, dried tobacco and other condiments were added accordingly. The betel leaf was then folded into a square or triangle shape.

As tobacco was an important ingredient of *Kun-yar* for regular chewer, a variety of tobaccos became available nowadays. There were local products prepared in different forms such as *Myanmar Hsey* (Myanmar dried tobacco), *Hsey Paung* (tobacco leaves and stem soaked with alcohol and honey) and *HseyHmwe* (imported industrialized tobacco products) from India and Bangladesh. Current

popular brands of treated tobacco imported from India were *Signal*, 45, 92, 100, 162, 350 (zarda), *Saga*, *Parajet*, *Powe*, and *Queen*. Popular domestic brands of treated tobacco were *Bayinma*, *Top*, *Shwe Let Wah*, *Shwe Bamar*, and *Nat Hsey*. Other different brands were also available in the marketplace and the popularity varied by area.

Other sweetening and flavoring ingredients such as *Nwe-cho* (liquorices/sweet root), *Samone-sapar* (aniseed), *Phalar* (cardamom), *Lay Hnyin* (clove), *Narnut-pwint* (pineapple flower), *Samone-net* (black cumin), *Samone-hsee* (aniseed oil), *Samone-ni* (cress), *Hnan* (sesame seed), coconut shreds or fried coconut shreds, *gone-khar*, *Gamone* (some form of orchid or lily), lemon and, *Thit-khauk* (artificial areca nut) were also added according to customer preference.



Figure 4.9 Betel quid with alcoholic treated tobacco (Lt) and with dried tobacco (Rt)

Figure 4.10 Different types of betel quid ingredients

Generally, betel quid could be classified into three types. *Ah Cho* (sweet betel quid) was the betel quid without tobacco. Fried shred coconut was the main ingredient accompanied with other sweetening and flavoring according to the individual preference. It became less available today due to complicated in preparation and to collect multiple types of ingredients. Another type was *Ah Seint* (betel quid without tobacco) which included mainly flavoring agents but no sweets. The last one was betel quid with any type of *Hsey* (tobacco).

In the old day, only the dried tobacco was available. The production of newly modified tobacco product, particularly *Nat Hsey* (tobacco treated with alcohol and honey) was the main reason that attracted today's young men became betel quid chewer. It was sweet and less strong compared to the dried tobacco, which

was bitter and stronger. Hence, it was the most popular in the study area and its affectionate account for 70% of betel quid chewers nowadays.

The style of preparation was slightly different from shop to shop or varied according to betel quid chewers' preference. *Hsey Paung Yay* (tobacco water), was used to spray on the ingredients during preparation and while packing. All participants believed that availability of a variety of tobacco products was one of the major reasons that drew the attention of young men and thus gave them the opportunity to practice it.

4.3.2.5 Betel quid marketing strategies

All the essential agents of betel quid were produced in Myanmar and they were available at *Zegyo*, wholesales market. Betel quid seller could get the ingredients in advance once they became a regular customer or familiar to the wholesale seller. This marketing style attracted and allowed many persons who had no job and the poor a chance to improve their economic status. This strategy gave advantages the betel quid sellers to show off their kindness and taking care of betel chewer. They allowed their customer to claim back later. They offered to their customers, particularly for those who were in a rush and had no money along with them, and for those who were not available to pay as a result of getting paid once or twice in a month. That humanitarian aid facilitated their betel quid selling rate.

Betel seller normally provided the first betel quid free to his customer as respondent to his purchase and at the same time made the customer peace and patient to wait for preparation. This kind of socialization gave strength to tighten friendship bond between betel quid seller and the customer.

The prepared betel quid was normally wrapped with paper or packed in a small plastic that fit for 100 or 200 *Kyat*. It was supplied in a plastic container for those who bought up to 500 *Kyat*. The name and the address of betel stall were printed on both plastic and container. Once the customer had collected 10 plastic containers, one container of betel quid was given back free to the customer as appreciation to their regular purchase. Some betel quid stalls responded back with a T-shirt printing of their betel stall name. This was a kind of marketing strategy killed two birds with one stone. Although the prohibition of tobacco advertisement in print media

had been enacted in 2002, however prohibition of betel quid advertisement was not specified.

Apart from the above marketing strategies, the participants stretched that high number of betel stall had already been a natural tool which drew peoples' attention. An interesting advertisement was found in a very famous shop that had an overwhelming betel business in his area. A gift card was provided for a person who bought 500 *Kyat* of betel quid in one time. The lucky draw with small kitchen appliances, watch, dress and prepaid phone card would be offered for those who reached 60 cards within one and half month of duration.



Figure 4.12 Lucky draw advertisements at betel stall



Figure 4.11 Betel seller presents the first quid to her customer

Summary

From this study it was found that the control of SLT products was not clearly specified in the current available tobacco control laws. There was weak designation in terms of prohibited targeted area and population with regards to its selling, utilization and control of spitting. This weak application and low taxation allowed betel stalls mushrooming with cheaper price betel quid available in the society. That attracted the multiplication of betel quid seller and betel quid chewers, particularly in the lower socioeconomic community.

The highly prevalent of betel chewer in the community formed the breeding places for the young men to contract with betel quid chewing. The social exposure life style of young men allowed them to get in contact with betel quid chewer in every corner of their movement. Moreover, today's cultural context of social gathering outside home and the traditional practice of social duties and obligation triggered the formation of peer augmentation that made none betel chewers to experiment with it. The social change of democratizing and lack of social taboo also gave young men's freedom to engage with their preferred.

The working environmental context was full of freedom under its natural physical condition. It was unregulated with official legislation and social restriction. That allowed people working there felt free to enjoy with betel chewing.

In addition, market moved with the provision of multiple types of tobacco products and the social marketing style of betel seller provided young men multiple choices with no burden in procuring betel quid.

4.4. Health belief on betel chewing practices

4.4.1 Positive health belief on betel chewing practices

4.4.1.1 Healing tooth aches and keep the mouth healthy

Believing of betel chewing could avoid tooth ache and gingivitis, killed the gems in the oral cavity was the long traditional cultural belief that had been strongly embedded and practice among the betel chewer society. All the participants from this study had heard about this from senior betel chewers. About half of the participants participated in this study had experienced it. One key informant, Ko Too, 31 year old adult man had verified its reality via introducing to his brother who was an activist of betel chewing practice.

“One day my brother suffered from severe toothache. I just recommended him to chew betel, which could relief his toothache. After he relieved from his tooth ache he became attached with betel chewing although he had slashed me before because of my betel chewing.”

4.4.1.2 Keep mouth fresh

The second most popular health belief was betel chewing kept betel chewer's mouth fresh. It was related with its multiple ingredients believing that they gave rise sweet smell and removed out the food remnants through chewing and they had the effects of killing the germs in the oral cavity. That belief and experience gave betel chewers confidence to talk among the people. 31 year old adult man Ko Too said:

"I had been reminded by my family member of my bad oral smell several times while I stopped chewing. Because of their repeated awareness, I felt shame and therefore I started chewing again."

4.4.1.3 Hide the alcohol smell

Believing of betel chewing could hide the odor of alcohol was also strongly embedded among the participants. Although not all participants were practicing with this purpose, but they suggested that was likely to be one of the reasons caused many young adult men became betel chewers since alcohol drinking was not socially accepted practice by the majority of society. 31 years old Ko Too said he had to hide the alcohol smell in order not to be realized by his member and the society.

"I added the fragrant in order to hide the smell of alcohol, which my mother didn't like me to drink and also to avoid the bad impression from the society because most of the people perceived drinking alcohol was a bad practice Chewing a quid of betel could really hide the alcohol smell." (Ko Too, 31 year old key informants)

4.4.1.4 Belief on benefits of ingredients for health

In addition, belief on the benefit of betel quid products did influence on betel chewers' practice. Some informants believed that *Kon Khar* (a kind of flower) was good for kidney by facilitating the passing of urine. *Lay Nyin* (Clove) was believed to be good for digestion and away from abdominal wind. *Pan U* (a kind of flower's root) was considered to be beneficial for promoting healing.

However, none of these beliefs were the primary factors which initiated informants who participated in this study to engage with betel chewing. Yet, it had been recommended and helped people around them solving their problems such

as chewing of betel quid to resist from pain while undergoing tattooing. These were the experiences that had embedded in their minds and those formed the supportive factors that augment them keeping on chewing betel quid.

4.4.2 Perceive less severity of health risks on betel chewing practices

Betel chewing had long been accepted as traditional practice that had been descended era by era. Its cultural value embedded in the society's mind misleading people believed it as less dangerous than other drugs used, for instance, it had no smoke to harm to the community as cigarette smoking and it caused less poor outcome and delay the consequences in comparison to earlier and premature death and poor social outcome of alcohol drinking. Therefore the majority of participants believed that it was one of the reasons why people selected betel quid chewing. In addition, some participants perceived that smoking was the entry point to commit other practice. Ko Wai, 28 year old adult men said:

"I had to stop smoking, because I realized that I had a very high potential to commit other additional practices if kept on smoking. But I had to sort out of suffering from sour taste in my oral cavity, so I changed to betel quid chewing."

In addition to this some participants selected betel chewing practice due to their experience of poor outcome from cigarette smoking. 25 year old young man, Ko Hein shared me his experience as:

"I realized that smoking was not good. I couldn't run faster as other and I easily got tired, especially when I played football. In fact, I wanted to be superior than another while playing so I decided to quit from smoking. Coincidentally the senior student did recommend me to chew betel quid they said it was less dangerous than smoking."

Besides, some participants chewed betel quid for cessation of smoking with the belief that betel chewing could reduce the desire to smoke.

"I felt tired due to smoking therefore I wanted to stop my smoking. Chewing betel could reduce the desire on smoking. It was not tasty when smoked after chewing betel. Besides that, betel chewing was not so dangerous, smoking was more dangerous, so I changed to chewing betel." (Ko Chit, 23 year old young man from lower socio-economic young FGDs group)

In addition, some participants believed that chewing only with *Myanmar Hsey* (dried tobacco) was less dangerous than industrialized tobacco products imported from India. They strongly believed in that. They said they had never seen the older betel chewer suffered from worse health outcome because they chewed only with dried tobacco.

Some participants reported that some people might chew betel when they were not able to do something that they wanted to do, such as smoking or alcohol drinking. They also reported that the majority of young men became engaged with betel chewing due to unawareness of betel chewing outcome in advance.

The cultural believes on its benefits and the perceived less severity of outcome risks from the betel chewing gave inside the community was the strength for young men to access it without any social taboo.

4.5 Cultural contexts

4.5.1 The social meanings of betel stalls and betel quid chewing practices

4.5.1.1 Social meaning of betel stalls

The high number of betel chewer and the cheaper prices of betel quid provoked betel stalls different socially constructed meanings.

Place for business networking

Betel stall was the place where had wise information. As betel chewers came from all classes of people, information was shared while they queued for betel quid preparation. So that young and adult men who ever needed an inquiry approached to betel sellers to collect information. In that case, they would buy betel quid to establish friendship with the betel seller to materialize their purposes. Besides, young men could have a chance to meet directly with businessmen who came to buy betel quid so that they could hunt a job by networking with the businessmen.

“I went to another township due to a problem with my family. I had no friend, and relatives there; I bought betel with my remaining money, I was

wondering around betel stall to look for a job. I offered to another to get friendship with them. Through that I got a job at that time.” (Ko Too, 31 year old adult men)

A place for social gathering

It was a place for social gathering. People met there and relax. Due to its cheaper price, people just came out home, directed towards betel stall, bought the betel quid, sit and chat there to kill their spare time. People carried out their social activities, particularly for those young and adult men who had free time, but not necessary to had money to enjoy in the community since someone among them would buy betel quid and share each other. Depending on the interest of betel seller and the available space there normally provided a desk for playing chess, a bowl for playing a game with pebbles. Hence, it was likewise a common place for the motor taxi driver waiting for the customer by chewing betel or playing chess or pebbles.



Figure 4.13 Young men were playing behind betel stall

Place for meeting point

In addition, it was a place for appointment. The majority of young adult betel chewer men made an appointment with their friend at the betel shop for further activities. For the students they gathered at the betel stall and headed towards the school. Bought betel quid and chewed while waiting was the common practice of betel chewer. There was high potential for non-chewer became exposed to

it when it was shared by a friend or the non chewer himself might ask a quid for them to follow their practice.

Place where men hang out for girls

Furthermore, it was a place for young men waiting to see their interested girls who normally passed by the betel stall.

Place where people trust to leave their stuffs temporarily

It was a cultural practice that people would leave their stuffs or park their motor bike nearby betel stall, to be under the observation of betel seller of security when they were going somewhere for a moment. In this sense, buying betel quid was “give and take” response between betel chewer and betel seller.

4.5.1.2 Betel was chewed for a social function

Betel quid as an instrument for establishing friendship, social networking and strengthening working relationship

Different people gave different meaning on their betel chewing practice in different occasion. The majority (80%) of betel chewers used betel for establishing friendship and social/business networking. It seemed the culture of Mandalay. Chewing betel gave wide social network, being a betel chewer it was easy to approach to other betel chewers. Offering a quid to a stranger made ease of introduction, thereby facilitate friendliness. It was a kind of social practice embedded in the betel chewer’s society. 31 years old, Ko Too expressed as:

“When you introduced someone to me, we felt strange to talk each other, but offering a quid of betel to that person made him felt easier. That represented the meaning of introduction for friendship.”

Moreover betel chewing brought closer social relationship among betel chewer; they had their common topic, common world, they chit–chat with each other and they took care of each other. Therefore, young man fell out of the group and isolated being a non-chewer among the betel chewers community. Hence some young men became betel chewers because they believed that they would get friendship with them and not inferior to them. 23 year old young man Ko Htwe said that:

“I chewed because all my friends chewed betel, only I ate snacks. There were many betel chewers in our group. I felt there was a power imbalance with them to be a non-chewer.”

Taking its cheaper price that was fit with the current economic situation, it was affordable for almost everybody to share with the members in their society, to serve to their customers in their workplace. Serving betel quid particularly in the workplace by the boss or customers to betel chewers was the tactic and the instrument as to facilitate the work done between employer and employee and strengthens social relationship with the customers and thus facilitated working condition with the warm feeling of humanitarian sense.

“I was offered a quid of betel straight away by the older person from the betel set on the boat. In our work, every boat had betel set. Some owners arranged betel set, but some owners provided money to buy prepared quid outside.” (Ko Htwe, 20 years old young man from young FGDs)

Jade market was a good example place where betel quid was available in every jade polishing place and almost all jade brokers' hands. Ko Ni 20 year old jade broker said that:

“In my business field, 80% of people were chewing betel. We would be offered and we did provide betel to the customer as friendship when we showed our jade stone to them. So that we got friendship and thus the conversation for business was started.”



Figure 4.14 (A) A jade broker was showing gems to customer with chewing and having betel quid beside (B) A jade polished man was distributing betel quid to other colleges

Since all the informants participated in this study were working population, they had experienced of such social relationship, particularly for those who were working in relation and exposure to society such as swimming trainer, car workshop worker and photographer were normally served by their customer in order to facilitate their smooth collaboration

“Most people chewed betel quid to strengthen friendship, to increase the number of friends and to increase social network. Taking my case as an example, some trainees’ parents were betel chewers; they shared with me so that our relationship was strengthened.”

However, chewing betel was a traditional practice that had descended for a thousand years. Sharing betel quid among betel chewers was the socio-cultural practice. It was natural that betel chewer normally shared betel to other chewer on the first sight when they met each other. This was a way of “greeting” practice among betel chewers. Therefore, it was not necessary to ask in order to get a share of a betel quid.

Social food for hospitality and item of gratitude

Betel quid had a long historical practice of offering to the guest who visited home as hospitality together with prickles green tea leaf, tobacco in the form of either cigar or cheroot. These were accepted as essential food to serve to the visitors as hospitality. However, there was some cultural changed along the development. People loved to serve cold drink or coffee because of convenient, accessible and cheaper price due to availability of three in one coffee mix. This culture largely replaced the practice of serving a cup of green tea in the recent era, so it was not strange that green tea leaf, tobacco and betel quid were no longer available as first priority for hospitality in routine practice of general family.

However, betel quid was served to the betel chewers and it was particularly arranged in the social ceremonies. No ceremony would be completed without including betel quid. It was served to the monk as desert after a meal. It was served to the guest in whichever social activities such as wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony, sermon given ceremony and monk hood and novitiation ceremony. Since almost no betel set was available at home, but there were many betel stalls everywhere, only *Htone Barma Hsey* (betel quid with dried tobacco) or *Nat Hsey*

(alcoholic treated tobacco) were made available for the visitors who come from the activities.

Betel quid was an essential item that couldn't be missed for those who came to support the activities. Betel quid were specially arranged according to their preference as gratitude for their support for the success of the activities.

4.5.1.3 Betel was chewed for social practices

Chewing betel because of its popularity and fashion

High prevalence of betel chewer reflected the betel chewing practice was popular. This popularity made it became a fashion nowadays. In addition, today young men like what was new, popular and modern in their society. Doing what was popular means "modernize" in most of the young man's mind. The majority of young men in this study had this mind sense while they were starting to follow and model other people chewing practice. They tried it as they wanted to be modern and to be part of the society. They didn't know the consequences they just followed the modernity. This attitude towards betel chewing was one of the factors triggering young men towards betel chewing. Ko Naing, 34 years old adult man told me that:

"I did felt that I was not modernized and I was left behind others. I was perceived as I knew nothing if I didn't chew betel. I didn't want to be like that so I followed others practice so that why I became betel chewer and addicted to it."

Chewing betel for "stylish"

Majority of informants in this study engaged their chewing practice during their young age. It was natural that young men likely to be drawn by any new interest at that age. In the eyes of the majority of young men thought that chewing betel was "stylish" in their time. Ko Tun, 22 years old young man stated his belief on other betel chewer's life style as:

"When I looked at the people who wore the long jean pen and walking with betel chewing, I liked the way they behaved and they moved. I perceived that was style and it was nice. So I followed their practice."

They appreciated others' chewing; they perceived their style was great. 20 years old young man, Ko Sai gave a common idea of young men's perception on betel chewing as:

“They liked the way chewers spit out of red betel juice, forcefully spit out from the tightly closed lips, made betel juice rushed out straight away to a certain distance together with sound of the spitting at that moment. Young men perceived that style was brave because it looked like as they didn’t care of the environment”

Some people viewed that speaking with betel quid was the style. Being continuing in the cycle of speaking, concentrating on other people speaking with chewing and jumping out of the conversation for spitting lead young men perceived that it was the style, particularly up on the action that they dropped out from the group during conversation for spitting. Leaving outside for spitting drawing people’s attention on what the betel chewer was going to do and kept people silent and waiting the chewer’s returning for continuing conversation. This kind of break refreshed people who involved in the conversation and drew more attention on further discussion. Therefore, some young men in this study chewed betel perceiving of it as “style”.

Sometimes, they made style, especially in front of girls and when there were many people to get their attraction. 34 years old Ko Naing said:

“We made style in front of the girl and among many people in the tuition. We intentionally spit out the betel juice and added a quid into mouth because we thought that it was the style. Young men perceived talking with betel chewing, laughing, and spit out betel juice in front of others were the style.”

Perceived betel chewing as style, perceived chewing betel was great, modernize, perceived betel chewers were brave and manly attracted young men to model like as them and hence came in contact with betel chewing practice.

Chewing betel for enjoyment and self entertainment

Betel quid chewing represented different values among different chewers. Some chewers chewed for enjoyment. The majority of young men gather in their leisure time. They played games, they played getter around the area the girls they proposed and they hangout around, rode motor bike to enjoy windy and they sit around the palace or chit-chat at a tea shop. Each and every activity was accompanied with betel chewing. Some informants said, chewing betel could increase their feeling of happiness. Some informants chewed while they were watching movie

for additional enjoyment. This was natural that people normally did what they like especially in their leisure time; it was just like women like to eat sunflower seed while they were watching a movie. Ko Aung, 26 years old young adult men told me how he valued on betel chewing to entertain himself. He said that:

“Actually, I could quit from chewing, but I didn’t because it was an entertainment for me.”

Chewing betel because of convenience and fit with the environmental contexts

Betel chewing became custom practice nowadays. This cultural dimension was fit with young men’s life styles and their existing environment. It let people able to adapt to their own environment better if they chewed betel quid than smoked cigarette. This social practice made them at ease and convenient wherever they did it. 34 years old, Ko Naing, a swimming trainer expressed how the nature of betel chewing fit with his working condition as:



Figure 4.15 Young men were polishing jade with betel quid put in front

“Now I chewed betel because it was impossible to smoke in water and I shouldn’t drink as a trainer, it was not good to alcoholic smell during training. But chewing betel could keep in the mouth, it was not only given chewer

satisfaction, it was also a practice that could be done while working in water without disturbed and recognized by others.”

In addition, betel quid could be chewed directly without necessary of any preparation as alcohol drinking. Moreover, chewing betel quid in the mouth made the chewer hand free for other work. Besides, chewing betel belonged only to the chewer without disturbed and danger to the society as cigarette smoking. Furthermore, chewing betel could keep in the mouth and chew gradually, without spitting whereas cigarette smoking was danger with firing when the light etch spark around due to the wind and the dried etch had to be managed gradually.

In addition, betel chewing was the traditional practice that had been long embedded in the perception of the community, whereas; smoking was prohibited in the society and difficult to accept by the family. Therefore, these cultural beliefs of its convenient guidance many young men became engaged with it.

4.5.2 Cultural meanings

4.5.2.1 Religious roles of betel quid

Food for spirit

Myanmar had been a Buddhist religious country. However, believed in *Nat (spirit)* was still the commonest alternative belief embedded in the majority of the societies. Although believing in it was diminishing among some community as a result of modernity and development, but it still played a major and unavoidable role for some community.

It was a long traditional practice that people normally prepared a donation bowl with the fresh coconut placed at the middle, surrounded by three branches of green banana. Three betel quid were sandwiched between bananas. Small amount of green tea leaf wrapped with paper or put in a small plastic bag and small bag of popcorn and a small bunch of *Aung Tha Pyay* (a kind of flower aiming for successful and free of danger) were placed besides the fresh coconut. These were the basic items served to the *Nat* as donation items and food for *Nat*. in worship activities.

Different people encountered different difficulties and they had their own wishes. However, in general many people paid respect to them to get their

support for safety, healthy and free from socioeconomic stress. People also asked for the spiritual support to make their wishes come true.

Most important and unavoidable traditional practice was during the process of constructing a new building. It was aimed to get support from the *Nat* for safe accomplishment with smooth operation throughout the process. It was also aimed to wash away the bad, evil spirits that suppose to exist in the dirty land that the people lived in. Showing the newly bought vehicles to the *Nat* was another most common and routine unavoidable cultural practice in Myanmar in order to get safety support from the *Nat*.

Apart from these major beliefs, the donation bowl was arranged and donated in almost all social activities. For instant the spirits taking care of music stage, reception hall and other fields of ceremony were paying respect with the donated items aiming to be free from their disturbance and to request their support for the smooth operation of the activity. This was the cultural practice traditionally worshipped to the *Nat*

In addition, it was also used in child health management. A betel quid was thrown outside home together with steamed rice in order to relieve the child from sick. In this sense the bad spirit that was believed to cause the child sick, was washed away from the child's body with the served betel quid and the food.

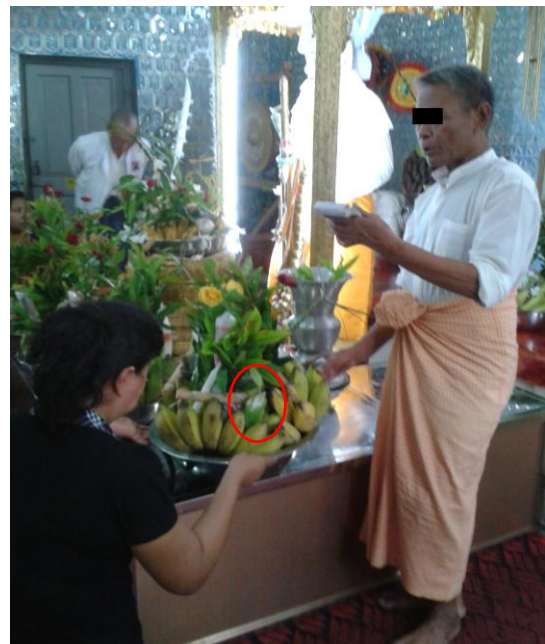


Figure 4.16 Donation to local spirit with betel quid sandwich between bananas

4.5.2.2 Roles of betel quid in ritual practices

Food for the deceased person

Betel quid was served to the deceased person during the funeral ceremony to who liked to chew betel when he/she was alive as food for him/her. It was a practice that showed family's concern and love, but it was not an essential item and not all family practicing it. The meaning of serving was different according to its

relationship to the causes of death. Some informants reported that, betel quid was served as food for the betel chewer as his favorite food for whom did not die of its consequences. For those whose death was related to betel quid chewing consequences, serving betel quid with him/her was aimed for termination of his/her bad habit along with the termination of his/her life.

Betel quid used as a mediating agent

Betel quid was used as a mediating agent while communicated with good spirit to get protection and support from them. It was normally prepared for a single use (*Ta Pywe Kun*). It was called “Kun Mann” It meant, it was prepared with the spiritual backing. People believed that they would have super power, for instant, they could resist from cutting by knife, and fighting in boxing matches, etc., when this kind of betel quid was kept in the mouth.

In line with this practice made peoples believed that chewing betel could make their speech powerful and effective (*Pa Sat See The*). Some participants reported that some chewed betel in relation to this reason, particularly for the business men those who rely on their talent of communication such as jade broker, car broker.

In addition, betel quid was used in spiritual management to get pregnant for those couples who did not get children after marriage. People believed that women would get pregnant when the betel quid that had been prayed by the monk was chewed. It was chewed by the folk healer to upgrade their abilities and get support from the spirit, particularly when they treated the patient.

In contrast to the above stated good will, some informants reported that betel quid was also used to attack other people by preparing with the support of evil spirit. There was a belief that it could danger to people by spiritual action via betel quid. Therefore, some people threw away some part of betel quid before they chewed it in order to throw away the attached spiritual management. This belief was supported by one respondent who participated in the young men FGD discussion. Ko Htwe, 23 year old young man explained how he heard about of betel quid was used as an instrument in communicating with the spirit to get their support in materializing their wish. He said that:

“My mom always complaint my betel chewing, she always asked me that did I chew in relation with some girls. She told me that they could get my love by feeding me the betel quid that had been managed with spiritual technique.”

4.5.3 Gender ideology and masculinity

4.5.3.1 Betel quid was food for men

Betel quid was mainly chewed among the men, particularly among those high ranking and better economic class in the kingdom era. It was the food entertained for the men. Similar in this era, majority of betel chewers were men. High prevalence of betel chewers among men made people perceive as it was the natural food for men. Many participants in this study reported that biological preference of food among men who preferred more on bitter tastes whereas the majority of women did not like the bitter taste also denoted it belonged naturally towards men. Betel quid chewing was not only fit with the biological construction of men, but it was also intertwined with the psychosocial, economic status and socio-structural contexts that men normally exposed to in their daily life. Therefore, it was chewed across all classes of men and majorities were working age men. It was the important social food for them.

4.5.3.2 Chewing betel quid as part of being a man

Traditionally, Myanmar had been the country that had practiced patriarchal gender practice. In Myanmar, men supposed to be strong, smart, decisive, work hard and brilliant. They were also expected to have a broader mind, with own idea and decision making power. They were also expected to be capable to earn the money, take the responsibility and be the leader of the family. Men who had those kinds of characters were perceived as true man. This society's expectation on gender practice gave rise young men the ideology of what men should be looked like since they had been brought up from their child age. In their idea men were the breadwinner and the leader whereas women were always follower. This gender definition on male and female discriminated that men were brave, risk taker. They were capable to response and welcome the challenges, whereas women were weak and forbear. This ideological domination caused young men to exercise power among

themselves and lowering down someone as weak as women in terms of power and risk taking character.

As such, most of the young men chewing betel quid intended to show their manhood as they were problematic, had challenged character, had grown up, manly and ready to fight with other people. Young men perceived of chewing betel quid and spitting betel juice in front of other people as smart and brave and dare to do everything. As a result, they could draw other peoples' attention towards them and also remind other people not to insult them. At the same time, their betel quid chewing behavior had given rises the sense of manly and meaning of exercising power and challenging towards other young men.

Ko Naing, 34 years old swimming trainer shared his ideology and perception towards his betel chewing practice during his student life as:

“Young men liked to gather in groups and behaved as a gang. They showed off their style to another by chewing betel, smoking, dressing the same design and making the same hairstyle. So that other people would afraid of then and not insult to them. Chewing betel was meant for challenging if it was performed in front of other none chewers. We chewed more in front of them and showed that they were gay, but we were men.”

4.5.3.3 Indomitable spirit and betel chewing practices

Being socialized with the character of what men should be looked like introduced young men the ideology of not to be inferior to others. That ideological domination with the spirit of indomitable sense gave strength for young men to response to the challenges. Their *Ma Khan Gyin Zeik* (indomitable spirit) facilitated them towards and added force on the affirmation of betel quid chewing practice. Everybody who participated in this study had encountered with very severe dizziness in their first exposure whereas some still experienced throughout their chewing period. It was this indomitable spirit augmented them not to give up but to be continued. Ko Theik, 22 years old young man siad how this indomitable sense had influenced him became a betel chewer as:

“I heard that chewing betel was not good since before I engaged with it. I also experienced of it. Although I suffered from dizziness, but I did

not give up because I had the mind sense that, other people could chew, why not me, so I tried it repeatedly.”

The indomitable spirit augmented young men competed with others, not to be inferior to others. This sense made them responded to challenges, self challenge. They felt strange if they were not doing as what other people practice. They wanted to be modern as other thereby triggered them to model and practice other's habit.

“I tried to chew betel when I saw other people chewed. I thought ‘they can chew it, why not me’. My perception was if I were together with my friend and if my friend dared to do something, I should also dare to do it. If he could eat, why not me, since we were men, we were similar.”(Ko Ni, 20 years old from Young FGDs)

The majority of young men perceived that contract with any kind of habit, particularly those were not socially well accepted represented that they were “brave” and they did not care about society's perception upon them.

4.5.3.4 Curiosity of men and betel chewing practices

The hegemonic masculinity of young men triggered the strong senses of young men's curios on other people's practices. They curious on other people' chewing regardless of its bad outcome. They curious on what were the benefits, how was its taste. They wanted to know how do they feel, how do they perceive their chewing practices, what was the meaning that they gave towards their chewing and why they chewed it. They also curious about whether they would be as them became a betel quid chewer when they tried it. Such thousands of questions came into their mind when the young men exposed to the betel chewer's community. Consequently, their curious natures aroused them to experiment with it.

“I was thinking why many people chewed betel even it was not good, damaged to teeth and it was also ugly. What was its benefit, why it was chewed every day and all the time. So I tried to chew it to know what it was! By acting like this I became addicted to it. We could not control our curious mind. We would try it without the concern of its consequences. I believed that our age people who became betel chewer, was mainly because of curiosity.”(Ko Sai, 20 years old young man)

4.5.3.5 Experiential sense of men and betel chewing practices

Although curiosity was the factor triggered young men to experience on their new interest, however, having a strong desire to experiment on the matter was also the nature of young men. Young men wanted to practice themselves on whatever they had heard, they had seen was true. It was the nature of young men who believed after practicing. When young men with curiosity mind sense exposed to betel chewer community, they became high potential persons with a high tendency to practice it because of their indigenous experiential sense. No matter how they had been regulated, their strong desire pushed them to experiment it.

Ko Ni, 20 years old young man from the young FGDs group told explained how gender power existed in the mind sense of young men led them to utilize their opportunity of having a chance to be born as a man to experiment with everything while they were alive. He said that:

“It was difficult to be born as a man, so man shouldn’t have anything left to be experience.”

4.5.3.6 Risk taking characteristic of men and betel chewing practices

Young men did not like regulation. The more they were controlled and regulated, the more they liked to against the set regulation and control. This study revealed that it was the nature of young men who had high potential to commit mistake and experience bad practices rather than interested on good things when they were persuaded. This nature of challenging character and risk taking behavior of young men encouraged them had no fear be claimed by the society and did not care of their beauty. Doing what was against the regulation had been perceived as brave in the sense of young men. The ideology of hegemonic masculinity facilitated young men wanted to be superior then others and showed off their character to others. Ko Too, 31 year old adult men input his past concept as:

“I thought that the society would perceive me as a brave man if I was doing things against what other people dislike. I believed that I was “hero” if I could do as what adult men practice such as drinking, smoking and chewing betel.”

Similarly, 24 years old young man added this risk taking behavior as:

“Young men wanted to do everything regardless of right or wrong, good or bad. They had the feeling that they dare to do everything without afraid. Hence, most of the betel chewers were those kinds of person who did not care about anything; they did whatever they wanted to do.”

4.5.3.7 Modeling characteristic of men and betel chewing practice

Young men liked to model other people practice that came into their vision. They admired their style when they saw it and thus they mimic them as they wanted to be as them. Normally they appreciated their friend's practice and they had high esteem on their preferred model. The majority of participants firmly reported that many young men became betel chewers in nowadays was because young men loved to follow other people's practice. There was a proverb in Myanmar said that *Ah dhu myin, ah dat tin* (learning from practicing). Likewise, this research showed that the engagement of almost all of the participants was starting from following their closed contact betel chewers' practice. Ko Theik, 22 years old who worked at car workshop reported as:

“I admired their style when I saw they chewed all the time, I wanted to mimic them and chewed like as them. So; I tried secretly to imitate them.”

Summary

There are multiple factors interrelated each other for a young man to come into practice with betel quid chewing. High prevalence of betel chewer and betel stalls were the environmental contexts that stimulated young men's curiosity to come into contact with betel quid. The symbolic meanings constructed in the deep heart of the men were also the important factor facilitated and guided young men whether or not to engage with betel chewing practice. The emergence of betel chewing practice was under several considerations. Their selection was governed by whether or not the practice was fit with their working environment. It was also underlay by their cultural beliefs, for instance, betel chewing was good to relief social sufferings by oral gratification. It was also governed by their beliefs that it was less dangerous than other practices such as smoking and alcohol drinking. Their perception on betel chewing was popular, fashion and stylish were also another contributed factor. Besides that, the

natural characteristics of men formed the additional forces that augment young men to try it and added force to young men insisted to commit betel chewing practice. It was the nature of young men that they perceived they should be brave, risk taking and challenging. They should be experiential, and decisive without giving up no matter how poor suffering they encountered with. This masculinity senses made the majority of participants involved in this study adhered to betel quid chewing.

4.6 Objective experiences

4.6.1 Age of Initiation

The duration of betel quid chewing among participants ranged from minimum one and a half years to maximum twenty four years. The age of exposure to betel chewing among the participants in this study varied widely. They could basically be divided into three groups. The first group was those had childhood exposure. The second group was those who progressed to the regular betel quid chewer from their initial phase of occasional chewing. Another group was those who directly progress to the regular betel chewer from their exposure.

Among the first group, they experienced with betel quid chewing in their child age ranged between 6-10 years old. Mode of exposure was due to feeding by grandmother and father, self arranged for chewing while preparing for the senior family member or asked to buy betel quid from betel stalls by parents. One key informant got to experience with betel quid chewing while playing because there was betel stall in front of his home although there was no betel chewer in his family. However, none of their re-engagement was directly related to their childhood experiences. The commencement of the other two groups was briefly summarized in the table 4.2.

The participants who had first time exposure to betel quid chewing was mostly from interviewed informants and only two from adult FGDs. Their starting age was ranging from 15-20 year old. Many of them were due to poor economic condition and some were due to family conflict. Two young interviewed informants were modeled from their friends, whereas adult interviewed informants were modeling from

the workplace. Two participants from FGDs started through modeled their friends during their student life. No participants from young FGDs and key informants had this initial step, they progressed to regular betel quid chewer since they contracted with it.

Table 4.2 Factors related to betel chewing in irregular and regular phases

Sr.	Description	Young IDI	Adult IDI	Young FGD	Adult FGD	KI
1	First time initiation with irregular chewing	2	2	-	2	0
	poor economic condition	2	2	-	-	-
	Poor family condition	2	-	-	-	-
	Modeling from workplace	-	2	-	-	-
	Modeling friend/community in student life	2	-	-	2	-
2	Second time exposure towards regular chewing	2	2	-	2	0
	poor economic condition	1	2	-	-	-
	Poor family condition	-	1	-	-	-
	Poor working condition	2	2	-	-	-
	Modeling from workplace	1	1	-	2	-
	Replace cigarette smoking	1	-	1	1	-
3	Regular chewer starting from exposure	3	3	5	3	4
	poor economic condition	1	1	4	-	1
	Poor family condition	1	-	1	-	-
	Poor working condition	1	-	4	-	2
	Modeling from workplace	2	2	2	2	2
	Peer pressure/encouragement at workplace	-	-	1	-	1
	Modeling friend/community/family	1	1	1	-	2
	Peer pressure/encouragement by friend	-	1	1	-	1
	Replace cigarette smoking	-	-	1	1	-

For those who became regular betel chewer started their engagement from 15-26 years of age. Among the regular betel chewers no matter they were progressed from initial steps or continue to regular betel chewer since their exposure, the majority were mainly related to the poor economic condition, poor working condition. The majority were modeled other's only small numbers were due to peer pressure or encouragement by their colleges at workplace. There were also some participants engaged due to peer friends. There was only one participant started betel quid chewing solely related to the replacement for smoking. However, there were some participants gave up of other practices after they experience of betel quid chewing.

4.6.2 Type of betel quid chewed

The patterns and type of selection varied with the age they commence, types and the amount of ingredients added, their outcome experiences, and their health belief. In this study, majority of participants chewed betel quid with dried tobacco. The second commonest one was the betel quid with alcohol treated tobacco. Very small number of participants chewed mixed types (dried tobacco and alcohol treated tobacco) of betel quid and only a few participants liked industrialized tobacco products. There were some participants kept on chewing betel quid with dried tobacco since the beginning until the time of study. They liked its bitter taste and believed that it was not a health hazard since they saw many 80-90 years old people who chewed that type were still alive.

The majority of betel quid chewers were upgraded from chewing betel quid without tobacco to betel quid with tobacco, whereas some participants changed within different types of tobacco. Many caused were found in relate to the selection and alterations. Most were due to modeling other's practice and the second most common reason was they felt mild with the former one. Some changed due to their poor physical experience. Just one participant changed to chew the industrialized products with the belief that industrialized tobacco products were popular, more potent and its rich smell could hide alcohol odor.

4.6.3 Pattern of chewing

4.6.3.1 Chew with whom, when it was chewed at the initial stage

One informant from in depth interview said that betel chewing would not start automatically due to self interest unless there were some favorable conditions that triggered them to practice it. It was largely in connecting with exposure to the favorable environment where there were many betel chewers or they could access betel quid easily. Those conditions were the platform of initiation towards chewing when young men were stimulated by other factors. Therefore, betel quid chewing in nowadays was the socially constructed practice. It was true that the majority of participants involved in this research were engaged in this context.

As such, betel quid chewing practice was rarely emerged alone at the beginning for a new person, except for those who practiced secretly at home where betel quid was available and easily accessible. The majority of respondents started either with their friends or in their workplace. For the beginner, they normally chewed when they gathered with their friend. They said being gathered in a group formed the ground that initiated them and gave strength and facilitated them engage with a particular practice. They chewed mostly in the evening when they free from work and went for leisure time to kill their spare time. They chewed at the occasion when after drinking sky beer. Some chewed when they played games and some chewed in front of girls and among many people. Some participants who stayed at the workplace hostel with less degree of freedom would walk around outside with the colleges for their secrete chewing. Normally this initial practice carried out occasionally.

Table 4.3 Initiation, switching and reasons of switching on type of betel quid chew among interviewed informants

Name	Initiation				Switching/Initiation				Reasons of switching/initiation			
	Sweet betel quid no tobacco	Betel quid no tobacco	BQ with treated tobacco	BQ with dried tobacco	BQ with treated tobacco	BQ with dried tobacco	Mixed dried+ treated tobacco	Imported tobacco	Model other	Poor experience	Popular	Mild with last one
Ko Sai	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Theik	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Bo	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√
Ko Hein	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Tun	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-
Ko Aung	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Aye	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	√	-	-
Ko Win	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-
Ko Myint	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-
Ko Naing	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	√

Table 4.4 Initiation, switching and reasons of switching on type of betel quid chew among FGDs participants and key informants

Name	Initiation				Switching/Initiation				Reasons of switching/initiation			
	Sweet betel quid	BQ tobacco	Treated tobacco in BQ	Dried tobacco in BQ	Treated tobacco in BQ	Dried tobacco in BQ	Mixed tobacco	India tobacco	Model other	Poor experience	Popular/hide alcohol odor	Mild with last one
Ko Lwin	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Ni	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	√
Ko Zaw	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Htwe	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Chit Ko	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Ko Oo												
Ko Wai	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	√
Ko Chit	-	-	-	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	√
Ko Soe	-	√	-	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	√
Ko Lin	-	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√
Ko Too	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	-
Ko Kyaw	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	-
U Soe	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	√
U Moe	√	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√	-	-	√

4.6.3.2 Frequency and when it was chewed in regular stage

Many participants became contracted with betel quid chewing after repeated initiation. They did not chew alone at the beginning but now they chew throughout the day. All the respondents started their chewing after having a meal in the morning. For them chewing after eating or drinking was the routine unavoidable daily practice nowadays.

“I wanted to chew after meal; I felt something was needed in my tongue. That was similar to the habit that people would try desert for those who liked sweet and smoked cigarette for the smoker. This desire was coming from the tongue and the mind, that leading to chew it.” (U Soe, 43 years old key informant)

There were also many participants with the strong desire to chewed soon they woke up in the morning. Some participants kept a quid for the next morning and some participants bought it last night intentionally. It was the psychology demand, which stimulated their conscious mind towards chewing. Occasionally, they chewed while they watched movies, enjoyed soccer program, especially when they beat it. Many participants liked to chew during reading, relaxing and when they felt boring. Some chewed offensively when they got angry. None of the participant could away from chewing while they were working.

4.6.3.3 Way of chewing

Chewing and spitting out the red betel juice was the common way of practice for the majority of today's betel chewers. Some participants reported that in the past betel quid was used to keep in the mouth without chewing or it was chewed slowly and the majority of betel chewers rarely spits out the betel juice. They believed that it was because of inconvenient to chew as areca nut is hard so that they had to soak it for a long time in the mouth. Moreover, the betel quid chewed in the ancient time was prepared only with dried tobacco that was not watery as today's alcohol treated tobacco which produces profuse amounts of betel juice.

Betel juice was normally spit out nowadays, as they perceived spitting out of betel juice was the style and they believed that outcome consequences of betel quid chewing could be avoided by regulating the way of betel chewing. 34 years old adult man, Ko Soe, from adult FGDs groups explained his hypothesis on the betel chewing reaction as:

“Today’s people chewed betel quid quickly instead of keeping it in the mouth because of afraid of getting diseases from the reaction of betel quid ingredients. The abrasion was occurred just after 15 minutes, the reaction was very strong as dynamite. So that we had to keep our tongue and mouth moving in order to avoid from this reaction.”

Even so, the pattern of chewing was still varied among the research participants. The Majority of participants spit out betel juice once it was produced and they rinsed their mouth or brushed their teeth before they went to bed.

Almost no participants in this research slept with betel quid kept in the mouth at the time of study though one respondent had practiced earlier. However, there were still some respondents reported that they changed their spitting pattern from ever spit out to just spit out first and second sips of betel juice. They swallowed the rest of betel juice and betel quid because they believed that much effect of tobacco and lime were included in the fresh juice that produced early, therefore spitting out of it was enough to prevent harm from chewing. They also believed that chewing with less spitting out long last their chewing so that it was cost effective compare to frequently spitting that made betel quid finished quickly. One respondent said, keeping betel quid beside the buccal mucosa gave him not only enjoyment with its rich tastes, but also away from being recognized as betel chewer.

4.6.3.4. Amount of betel quid chewed

The amount of betel quid chewed differed between person by person and time by time. No one brought a large pack and chewed by self at the beginning, later alone could finish it. The number of betel quid was low for the beginner ranging from a minimum 1-4 (100 *Kyat*) to maximum 5-8 (200 *Kyat*) quid and it was shared with other friends. But some informants chewed large amount continuously on the first day of exposure because they were hurrying to become a betel chewer and they were curious with multiple ingredients. Their chewing desire was increasing gradually. Most of the participants chew throughout the whole day. It was ranged from 12 quid (300 *Kyat*) to 120 quid (3000 *Kyat*) among the research participants. Many participants recognized their quantity was increasing because they chewed more when they felt boring and when they got share from other chewers. They also chewed more when they

beat the game with betel quid, when they worked in the night time, when they had to work hard, when there was stress for brain storming and when they felt angry.

The amount of betel quid chewing was also found to be influenced by the accessibility and availability. For instances, the betel sellers put a quid into their mouth whenever they finish preparing for their customer. They were engaged with their blackened teeth and white finger denoting the identities of betel seller. It was the involuntary movement and doing unconsciously, they could not stay with an empty mouth without chewing betel quid.

It was also found that betel chewing was related to the affordability, accessibility and convenience condition. The majority of participants they felt free to chew when they had their own income. The amount of chewing was automatically reduced when there was limited income and when they were in the area with less access to betel stall. They could control themselves when it was not convenient to chew or spit such as while attending the meeting and traveling long distances on the bus. They could also control when they think it was improper to chew. They perceived that it was not polite to chew in front of their senior particular in the workplace and in front of father.

Being the participants living in the developed city had exposed to multiple visual and hearsay evidences that reminded them to be aware of consequences. Therefore, some participants regulated their chewing again according to the perceived health risk. A 46 years old key informant, U Moe, expressed his perceived outcome health risk related to the betel quid ingredients as:

“Tobacco was affected to the heart. Areca nut was very hard, it was not digestible. When its remnant attached to our intestinal wall it would affect to our stomach and intestine. It could reach to kidney. That’s why I tried to reduce it.”

4.6.4 Co-morbid used of other substances

In this study, it was found that only a small number of participants were contracted with other co-morbid practices at the time of study. Some drank and smoked in the past, but they had quit it due to various reasons. There were some participants stopped from smoking by replacing with betel chewing because of their outcome experiences result from smoking. Majority them said they felt tired while they were

smoking, one participant from lower middle class FGDs said he stopped smoking as he had to prevent from the engagement of further bad practices.

Among all participants, only one young FGDs man smoked occasionally. From this study it was found that two interviewed young men loved to drink alcohol and one key informant adult man normally drank one third of water glass before dinner, believing that it was good for health to drink a small amount at that time. “Beer culture”, “betel quid culture” reported information from some participants revealed today’s Mandalay socio-structural context that shaped the practice of young men. In accordance with this, it was found that the majority of adult men from FGDs had the beer culture intertwined in their social life.

4.7 Subjective experiences

4.7.1 Experiences of the side effects from betel quid chewing practices

Every participant in this research reported they had encountered side effect on betel quid chewing particularly in the first time. Their experiences of suffering varied widely. But local people called it in a collective nature *Khun Muu Thar* (suffering from betel chewing) regardless of the symptoms they suffered.

The reported neurological symptoms in this study included dizziness with the severity of unable to open the eyes sometimes, heavy sensation in the head, vertigo, drowsiness, wind coming out of the ear, feeling of a hot flash, tremor, felt a lack of energy in all limbs. Other symptoms related to gastrointestinal systems were nausea, vomiting, wind in the abdomen, felt full in the stomach, not hungry, and did not want to eat food. There were abrasion occurred in the buccal mucosa. They felt hot sensation in oral cavity and over the tongue, and the action of dynamic exploration occurred inside the mouth. Some felt numbness in the mouth with no taste sensation no matter how much salt was added in the food. In addition, thirsty, severe sweating, palpitation, feeling of urgency were also reported.

The commonest symptom that everyone had experienced was dizziness. Dizziness results from betel quid was much worse than those suffered from alcohol

drinking. They did not ease, neither in standing position, nor in lying position, they lay down even there had garbage.

Besides, the beliefs about causes were different among individuals. Some believed that it was related to individual biological resistance, whereas some believed that it was caused by side effects of tobacco and areca nut. Some experienced that it was due to chewing with empty stomach, but some believed that it was the outcome reaction of mixed ingredients.

Nevertheless, no one had stopped from chewing, though the entire respondent reported that it could be relieved by eating toddy palm, sweet (jaggery) and drinking large amount of water. Rather, they kept on chewing with the indomitable sense and believing they would get resistance by continued chewing it. There were fewer participants perceived that feeling of dizziness was good. They believed that might be the factors caused people addicted with betel quid chewing.

4.7.2 Experiences of physical benefits from betel quid chewing practices

4.7.2.1 Experiences of tastes

Different participants reported their different experiences in regards to the tastes obtained from betel quid chewing. It varied between the type of betel quid, the quality and the amount of ingredients they added. The recognition of the tastes was the road map towards their affirmation with betel chewing practice.

In this study all the participants reported that lime was the most important ingredient. For regular betel chewers, the identified taste and the quality of lime made they believed that they type was fit to them without abrasion formation with them. Such belief made them adhered to a particular betel quid stall. The majority of participants said that the importance of lime for a betel quid was as important as the salt for the dish. All participants believed that every betel shop had their unique lime preparation technique that tied the betel chewer to be their regular customer.

In addition, participants in this study believed that their addiction was due to varieties of its outcome effects. They said, chewing betel quid gave the stronger and rich tastes of areca nut and tobacco that last in the mouth and on the tongue until and unless it was rinsed. Unlike the chewing gum that gave only the sweet taste at the beginning and it was boring to chew once the sweet taste was finished.

Chewing betel quid gave them feeling and awareness of chewing in the mouth. They got the sensation of taste on the tongue but it reached to the mind when tobacco was added. Some participants could feel the typical smell and taste of mints from the first quid they chewed in a day. Moreover, it was tasty when all the ingredients were in a proportionate amount. However, the belief of the causes of addiction in related to ingredients varied among participants. There were participants believed that bitter and pungent tastes of tobacco and areca nut were normally addicted whereas some believed that lime was the major ingredient leading to addiction.

4.7.2.2 Experiences of relief from suffering of sour taste and sticky sensation in oral cavity

Having a cup of tea was a common custom and it formed today Myanmar traditional practice. Suffering from sour tastes after eating a meal or drinking Myanmar sweet tea was the commonest symptom reported by all the participants in this study. All of them experienced that this sour taste could not be relieved by anything apart from chewing betel quid. Some respondents said that it was similar to trying desert after having a meal; thereby the sour taste was replaced with the betel taste.

“There was a demand of chewing, especially after eating something, it was so sore in the oral cavity. It could not relieve without chewing betel. The sour taste, feeling in oral cavity could be disappeared only after chewing betel quid.” (Ko Naing, 34 years old adult man)

Some respondents also experienced the suffering of sticky sensation occurred along with the feeling of sour taste. Similarly, it could be relieved only by chewing a quid of betel. They said by chewing betel it cleaned up the mucous in the throat and thus washed out the sense of sticky feeling. Therefore it facilitated the fluency of speaking. One interviewed adult men who was a lawyer explained his failure experience due to suffering from sour taste and sticky sensation in his throat from without chewing betel quid. He said that:

“One day, when I was on a case, I was informed to start chamber, so I stop my chewing. But the court did not start, although it was informed for sometimes. I started feeling of sour taste in my mouth and sticky sensation in my throat. My voice did not come out easily and it was not fluent in speaking when I made a presentation. It was not smoothly carried out and thus I failed in that section. So the

next day I kept betel in my mouth that made me good to talk; my voice was sharp and clear.”(Ko Win, 32 years old lawyer)

In line with this some participants realized the reason why some vocalists were betel quid chewers.

4.7.2.3 Experiences of relief from hungry

Although almost all the participants for this study reported that chewing betel caused wind in the abdomen and loss of appetite. But some participants reported that chewing 2-3 quid of betel could relief from hungry. This experience had been shared by a key informant, Ko Kyaw, 43 years old university teacher from his personal experience and observation as mentioned below.

“Chewing betel also relieved from hungry. For example, yesterday, I went to school after eating only a bowl of Myanmar noodle at 9:30 am and I could stay up until I back home at 6:30pm. I ate nothing apart from chewing betel during that time.”

He added that because of this effect betel chewers could save their expense for a meal.

“Some people chewed betel in order to save money. I experienced with a painter who painted my house, he did not eat lunch, and he chewed only betel which we provided to him. He worked with chewing betel. It kept away from hungry.”

4.7.3 Experiences of psychological feeling from betel quid chewing practices

4.7.3.1 Experiences of relief from boredom and having accompaniment

Stayed alone for long time or working quietly under high concentration was the main cause of boredom that experienced by majority of participants. It was the contributing factor that triggered them to re-engage with betel chewing. It was also the element that kept betel quid accompanied all the participants in their daily life. They said, chewing betel gave them a sense of having a friend and thus relieved from the felling of boring. Some informants reported that they did not feel safe and sound when they visited someone's house alone, especially if no one was taking

care of them. In that case, chewing betel gave them a sense of having someone beside them that made them away from the feeling of uncomfortable from being waiting alone there.

“Chewing betel relieved from boredom and giving a sense of having someone beside me. It made me comfortable, as having a friend, especially if I was not served when I visited someone’s house alone.” (U Soe, 43 year old key informant)

4.7.3.2 Confident with betel quid chewing

Betel quid chewing gave them confidence because they felt more comfortable as having an accompaniment beside them, particularly when they were exposed to the unfamiliar society that made them felt stress. They felt, they dare not speak out. They felt something was lacking with them. Chewing a betel quid could give them confidence, even the small amount of remnant left in between the teeth was effective for them. 34 years old adult man, Ko Wai, from the middle socioeconomic FGDs group said:

“For me, I had no confidence if I did not chew betel. I felt very difficult to talk and I dare not spoke without chewing betel. I felt like it was lacking something. For instant when I was assigned to attend the meeting in place of my senior for the issue I was not familiar with. I felt no confidence and inferior if without chewing. I could not speak out even one word. But with betel quid chewing, it was effective even the mouth was rinsed. It was psychological feeling that gave me confidence.”

4.7.3.3 Chewing betel for stress management

To get a job after study and after growing up was every young man expectation. However, living in a big city as Mandalay seemed had many job opportunities, however, it was still difficult for the majority of people to reach the requirement with their education. Network played an important role to get some jobs. It seemed study was useless in comparison to having a good relationship in business networking. Having no job was a stressful condition for young men. When people had no business, they would engage with betel chewing to kill their time and find the way possible for stress relieving. U Moe, 46 years old key informant stated with a feeling of regard as:

“Actually, people should get a job to work when the time to work. People were looking for the outlet when they did not have jobs and nothing to do. Normally we should provide an outlet for the students if we could not provide any job opportunity to them. So people became stressful in the long run So that they were practicing and referencing of other people practice to relieve their stress”

The life of people was full of stress, particularly living in the society with high competition, but less job opportunity to work and encountered with the unmet demand. The economic instability with high inflation and without any social welfare were also led them encountered with insured, particularly who belonged to lower income family. Therefore, people tried to divert their attention by chewing betel quid and thus it would help forget about their stress. 24 years old, newly marriage young men, Ko Hein, told me that:

“I chewed one after another for a long time and many quid will be chewed unconsciously, especially when I was thinking about family issues.”

Being a man had been socially constructed to be a responsible person that made them encountered more stressful than women. No matter all participants had a job and they were working, however, nobody was free from economic stress. The majority of them had to work hard for their economic insufficiency though some were concerned with the status maintaining. Moreover, they encountered many inconvenient due to job alienation. Therefore, their betel chewing practice could not be away from their working condition. Ko Aye, 30 years old men working at goldsmith workshop said:

“For me, I chewed less if I did not work, but I chewed more when I was working, because inconvenient always existed in the workplace. I felt I wanted to sing a song and I would talk alone automatically when I felt upset. But I did not wanted to be like that, therefore I chew betel quid to let me out of feeling to another. I chewed continuously and chewed a lot whenever I felt upset and frustrated. I did not chew at night time after I stopped from working.”

4.7.3.4 Chewing betel to relief from angry

Some people chewed betel to divert their angry. They put their effort on their chewing, they masticated it strongly, as such they outburst their angry towards chewing and grinding. So that the attention towards angry would be reduced.

“One day I was so angry with my junior college; I hit him with my fist. After that I controlled myself not to go further more. So I chewed a quid of betel to divert my attention and angry towards him. I concentrated in my chewing, so that my angry became gradually relief.” (Ko Theik, 22 years old mechanic worker)

Similarly, Ko Aung, 26 years old man working at a government office expressed his suffering as:

“Since I was a basic staff, sometimes I had to admit as my mistake, although nothing was wrong with me. I had to accept whatever I had been complaint by my senior, in that case I would chew two quid and I would chew continuously one after another since I could not do anything apart from outburst on my chewing.”

Moreover chewing betel made the mouth occupied with chewing so that kept them away from speaking. Therefore, men chewed betel to avoid from problem happening when they were angry. 33 years old, Ko Chit shared how he kept himself away from angry with another by chewing betel quid:

“Chewing betel quid could away from talking and responding to someone no matter how and what other people were talking with. I just kept on chewing and spitting out the betel juice, I did not have any feeling even the conversation could lead to angry. I could keep myself calm by chewing betel.”

Some participants reported that chewing betel could control them loss of conscious mind that could help control them to be patient and stayed from the feeling of disappointed and dejection.

4.7.3.5 Chewing betel to stabilize the mind

Some participants believed that chewing betel quid could stabilize their mind, particularly when they felt annoyed with their job. Therefore, the majority of respondents said they had high demand of chewing particularly when they encountered complicated issue. That was the reason why there were many betel chewers among business men.

“There was high demand to chew betel when people encountered complicated issues and thinking too much. It was believed that betel chewing helped refresh thinking capacity so it was chewed in occupation that needed brain storming. For example, when businessmen deal with financial issue, when the

teacher correcting the exam paper. In that situation people wanted to chew betel, they felt that they were confusing. They chew betel in order to stabilize their mind.” (Ko Kyaw, 41 years old University teacher)

4.7.3.6 Satisfaction result from betel chewing

Betel quid was the preferred food for betel chewer. The respondents in this study said that chewing betel quid gave them satisfaction which was similar to the baby who satisfied after having breast milk. Chewing a quid of betel gave them a feeling of happiness and lightness due to the satisfaction with their achieved demand.

“I feel satisfied once I put a quid and keep it in my mouth, particularly when I felt hunger for it. It gave me a feeling of happiness and lightness as I have done what I wanted. I satisfied with the feeling of chewing and satisfied because the desire was fulfilled.” (Ko Hein, 24 years old young man)

Therefore, it was impossible without chewing betel for a regular betel chewer. They felt unsatisfied working without betel chewing. 30 years old Ko Aye, who worked at goldsmith workshop shared his experience as:

“For a regular betel chew they felt not happy to work without chewing. They felt not satisfy even some came to them. But when a quid of betel is fed to him, he felt relax especially mentally. He became happy and delight with betel chewing, there was no more dissatisfaction towards another.”

4.7.4 Experiences of betel quid chewing benefits in relate to work

4.7.4.1 Improved concentration from betel quid chewing

Many participants believed that chewing betel helped them concentrated in their work thereby relieved boring from working. 20 years old young man, Ko Ni, said:

“Chewing betel helped relief boring while working. It was the essential item that facilitated concentrating power and helped relieve from boredom. If without chewing, there was no concentration and the attention was spreading.”

Many participants believed that they could concentrate and focus on their work by chewing betel quid that helped them controlled from lost of their conscious mind and thus collected the concentration without dispersion of attention

towards others. Ko Tun, 25 years old young man cycle taxi driver expressed how betel chewing was the benefit of his work as:

“I really recognized the benefit of betel chewing. Chewing betel made me concentrated and focused on the way I was going so that I was always alert with the traffic.”

Ko Theik, 22 years old man working in car workshop reported similar experiences:

“I could not concentrate without chewing betel. Chewing betel supported me concentrated on my work, so that I could memorize well where the spare parts had taken out so that I could reassemble it correctly.”

All the respondents realized that betel chewing becoming their habit and thus they could not work without chewing betel quid. Ko Too, 31 year old tattoo designer explained how betel chewing was influential in his work.

“Now I felt betel quid could not be absent when I was working. I did not interest if I did not chew betel. For example, I must insert a quid into my mouth before I drafted the design on paper. Although the customer paid for his tattooing, but I would not draw if I did not chew betel, I did not care about anything and I would not start without chewing betel. I felt that betel was such essential.”

4.7.4.2 Chewing betel kept awake

In addition to the above stated perceived benefits, all the respondents involved in this study stated that chewing betel quid kept them awake and away from sleeping. Some believed that betel chewing made their nervous system functioning thereby gave them relax and thus improved their vision. However, some participants believed that chewing betel caused them divert attention from sleepy towards chewing and the continuous movement of the mouth made them away from sleepy. Ko Aye, 30 years old man who worked in goldsmith workshop said:

“I felt hazy with my vision without chewing, chewing betel made my eyes widen and away from sleepy because chewing betel made my nervous system functioning. It relaxed the nerves around the eyebrow and over the head so that we felt less tense and improved my vision from being hazy and sleepy condition. It provided not only clear vision, but also kept me awake. So I chewed when I was sleepy because

sometimes I had to work overtime at night. In that case I worked with chewing betel quid.”

Some participants believed that chewing betel gave hot flush sensation on the tongue that awake betel chewer from sleepy. Therefore, they said many people who worked at night time, particularly in the night drivers chewed betel to away from sleepy.

4.7.4.3 Chewing betel relieved from tiredness and to gain energy

Many participants believed and experienced that chewing betel quid helped them relieved from tiredness and gave them the feeling of gaining energy. They were emerged in the cycle of chewing and spitting that made them paid less attention on their hard work. Therefore, people used to chew it to keep them fresh and alert when they felt worn-out and tired. 41 year old Ko Kyaw said:

“The desire to chew betel quid was increased when did the hard work such as cleaning the house, planting trees, etc. I thought it was mainly because of tiredness. Chewing betel provided the feeling of gaining energy and resisting from the physical strain. So working with chewing betel could reduce the burden of work that had to be working very hard.”

The more prominent relationship was shared by Ko Tun, 25 years old young man who had been working as hard laborer as:

“There were only two people, me and one college when I worked in the fertilizer retail shop. Loading and unloading of fertilizer bag was so tired, especially if there was over workload, so I chewed more betel quid when I had to lift the heavy good.”

4.7.5 Suffering from addiction

All the participants involved in this study had chewed betel for more than one year some had chewed for about twenty four years. Within their long period of chewing, they had gained multiple experiences related to the betel quid chewing. The majority of participants encountered both physical and mental discomfort while without chewing or when there was desire to chew it.

The first and foremost symptom that all participants realized was feeling of a sour taste in their oral cavity. All participants experienced of it soon after having a

meal or drinking Myanmar tea. However, there were a few participants started suffering of it since they woke up in the early morning.

“I felt the severe sour feeling in my mouth if I was not chewing; it could not be relieved by anything. I wanted to chew only betel quid; this was the strong desire of my mind.” (Ko Aung, 26 years adult man)

The rest of the symptoms included feeling of dissatisfaction, not patient, short temper with the tendency to have a problem even on the small matter. They perceived everything in a negative sense. They lacked of control of the conscious mind and easily outburst to another. They had no concentration, feeling of vacant in their mind. They felt sleepy and feeling of sweating and tremor while working. They felt lethargy, heavy and lazy and no interest to work. Some felt the stickness and numbness occurred in their finger.

“I would be angry and dissatisfied if I was not chewing betel. I had no interest to work and I could not be persuaded by anything when I wanted to chew it. I would out bust to the people who came to ask me to do something. I was not patient anymore. But chewing betel could avoid from such feeling. I felt satisfied once I chewed a quid.” (Ko Bo, 24 year old storekeeper)

In addition, feeling of difficulty in speaking with sticky sensation in the throat, having of bad oral smell, felt something was lacking and not delicious in the mouth was also revealed. All most all participants mentioned that it was abnormal for the betel chewers if they did not chew betel. No regular betel quid chewer wanted to work without chewing betel. Some participants realized that it was the psychological demand.

4.7.6 Experiences from quitting

4.7.6.1 Desire to quit

All the respondents participated in this study had concern to quit from chewing, yet, there was great variation in their desire and perceived possibility of quitting from chewing. Some participants said that they could easily quit from it whenever necessary. Some participants said that they would quit it one day because of perceived poor outcome both physically and socio-economically. However, the majority of them said although they had desired, but they could not stay without chewing. Ko

Theik, 22 years old man who worked as mechanic at car workshop said, he was angry because of he couldn't stop from it.

"I had desired to quit from chewing since I experienced a very bad feeling of dizziness and heavy sweating and after seeing the cancer patient result from betel quid chewing. I did it. But it last for a few days only."

Another participant said that he had concern to stop chewing because of his upcoming frequent social presentation as a representative of his organization. Some participants would consider stop it if there was high potential of cancer occurrence and when betel chewing was perceived as committing a big mistake by the society.

However, some participants never thought to stop from chewing. One respondent said his suffering from abdominal pain was just like as leg pain resulting from bicycling; it was natural and would relief automatically. Another participant preferred to reduce chewing because whenever he decided to quit from chewing he tried a lot on the day before as it was the last day of his chewing. As a result, his level of chewing became increased rather than stop from chewing.

4.7.6.2 Reasons trigger towards previous quitting

The participants who had experience with quitting reported different reasons that led them to stop from chewing. The majority of participants reported they stopped from chewing after seeing cancer patients. Some stopped due to experienced of physical suffering such as severe tightness of chest with massive mucous production that led to unable speaking. Some stopped because of realization of poor socioeconomic burden. One young man said he stopped because of lack of accompaniment when his betel chewer friend stopped from chewing. There was additional participant who quit due to the considering of inconvenient and society's perception up on his chewing practice.

"I felt the society would have a bad impression on me. Chewing betel also cost money. I had to manage the balance with my income. In addition, I had been given pressure by the wife and the daughter of my boss. Apart from that, there was full of pavement everywhere in such kind of a large city, there was not many places to spit betel juice, I had to look for the place if I wanted to spit out. That was the difficulty I experienced. Since I was working at their place, I did not know whether they liked it or

not if I spit out at their compound. This kind of worry plus pressure from them caused me tried to stop it.”(Ko Aye, 30 years old man who worked at goldsmith workshop)

4.7.6.3 Suffering from quitting

Different participants had reported different experiences that they had suffered during their quitting period.

They felt both physical and mental discomfort which could not be relieved by anything. Some said they felt sleepy, not fresh, and unsatisfied with a very short temper, irritable, restlessness. Some experienced with loss of conscious mind, loss of attention and confuse and no concentration to work. Some felt dry and tense on the lips, in the throat and the cheek. Some experienced with the occurrence of bad oral smell and sour taste in the oral cavity and the feeling of something was needed in the mouth.

4.7.6.4 Factors influencing re-engagement

Though the majority of participants had experience of quitting during their chewing period, however, the majority of participants encountered difficulty in quitting and they said it was not easy to stop from it. Almost all participants realized that worrisome of poor health outcome was overwhelmed by their strong desire of chewing. However, re-exposure to the betel chewer community was the most important factor that stimulates betel chewer’s re-engagement rather than impossible to resist from suffering.

“Though I was quitting from chewing, but if people from society were all chewing and if they said, ‘try a quid’ I would take a quid automatically and forgot that I was quitting. So that I became start to re-chew it again.” (U Moe, 46 years old key informant)

In this research, the majority of people re-engaged with it because of exposure to environmental context either to betel stalls or offered a betel quid by their friend. Therefore re-exposure to betel chewer society and perceived benefits resulted from previous experiences tied the betel chewers to contract it again.

“I controlled myself even I was offered by other since I was conscious that I was quitting. Afterwards I was not offered any longer after they recognized that I was giving up. Then they served me Myanmar tea in a tea shop. I felt a sour taste in my oral cavity after having tea. At that time there was a betel quid stall in

front of the tea shop. That made me easily went to buy it and I became re-chew it again.” (Ko Aye, 30 years old man)

4.7.7 Impact of betel chewing practices

4.7.7.1 Realization of betel chewing constraint in relate to society

Majority of the participants realized that talking with senior persons with betel chewing was not polite. It was related to its physical appearance of continuous chewing. It was also not clear speaking with mouth full of betel quid and betel juice. Besides, if frequent broke out from conversation for spitting, it would disturb other's concentration. In addition, the betel stained red teeth which persisted even after rinsing gave ugly appearance in someone's eye.

They were reluctant to have the direct face presentation while speaking with others when considering the betel smell would be poor smell for other. There was also the possibility of sparked out of betel juice while speaking. More importantly, carelessly spitting out of betel juice provoked environment pollution.

They also realized that doing mouth wash from betel chewing was not as quick as killing the fire of cigarette, thus it delayed the business in case of urgency. Therefore, there was less betel chewer among the staffs working closely with higher official in comparing to clerical staffs that had less social exposure towards the senior society.

4.7.7.2 Realization of poor socioeconomic outcomes

Although betel chewing had been accepted as a culturally descendent practice, however, nowadays, there were a limited number of populations who had no complaint on it. It was because of it consequences of the unregulated spitting habit and provoke outcome health risk. Thus betel chewer might be viewed and gossiped by some community as a lower status person, a person lacked of glory, no discipline, impolite and no respect to their society. They may also be perceived as a person who prone to commit further more bad practices because chewing betel quid had been perceived as risky behavior. Apart from poor impact of society, betel chewer would encounter economic burden, particularly for those who addicted to it.

4.7.7.3 Realization of poor physical outcomes

Personal experiences

In addition to the experiences obtained from the temporary without chewing and quitting, most of the participants realized that betel quid chewing affected on their tooth alignment, caused widening and shaking of teeth, and flattening of tooth surface due to hard consistency of areca nut and continuous chewing. One participant had extracted of his teeth due to the formation of a hole as a consequence of betel chewing. In addition, chewing betel caused ugly with betel chewing appearances and betel stained red teeth. It also caused the older looking appearance in comparison to actual age. Besides these, a 46 year old school teacher realized that betel chewing has affected on his speaking particularly in English pronunciation.

“Betel chewing affected on the tongue. I felt thick, hard and tingling sensation on my tongue and I could not speak English well. That affected on my pronunciation and caused sluggish during speaking.”

Hearsays and observed experiences and source of information in regards to health outcomes

Being the participants living in the developed city and high betel chewer society, all the participants involved in this study had heard about the poor health outcomes result from betel quid chewing. Most of them realized that betel chewing could produce a poor health outcome; particularly leading to cancer development in the oral cavity when the betel quid was kept long time in the oral cavity. They also believed that swallowing of betel juice could result in the stone formation in the kidney, bladder and gall bladder. A small number of participants reported that betel chewing would result in cirrhosis of liver. Some participants responded vaguely that swallowing betel juice could effect to the stomach because areca nut was not digestible and the betel quid products would adhere to the intestinal and stomach wall.

All the participants had heard about these from the senior betel chewer and other senior persons in the society. Some participants had seen the cases. Some reported that they heard it from doctors and read from journal. Only limited numbers of participants had seen from the internet and Face book. No one had seen the educational pamphlet and had attended the health education information program. Some respondents said they had watched limited health information about the outcome of

betel chewing from a health talk on tobacco smoking. None of the participants had seen the health education emphasized only on the betel chewing from a TV program.

4.8 Socio-cultural factors determined the popularity of betel quid chewing practices in contemporary contexts of Mandalay city

The popularity of betel quid chewing practice in today's contemporary society was the complex issue governed by multiple conditions. It's multiplying was not merely the outcome of descended traditional practice and the individual interests due to the prevalence of the betel quid stall and betel quid chewer in the community. It was also not only due to the cultural beliefs about the benefits of betel quid chewing but it was also the social products of the capitalist economy. Economic insufficiency of the community and weak application of the currently enacted laws were the macro level strategies that pushed people into the highly structured betel chewer community. That area allowed people felt free to access to betel quid chewing.

Once people chewed it, they got benefit experiences from it which in turn determined them sustain with their betel quid chewing practice. Although some people had a desire to quit, but it was hard to success in quitting, thereby, lead to the accumulation of betel quid chewer in the community. The engagement of new betel chewer and the sustaining of existing betel quid chewers made betel chewing practice popularity in today's contemporary society. In this regards, the popularity would be explained by two steps, the initiation step and the step of re-engagement.

4.8.1 Initiation towards betel quid chewing practices

Betel chewing was the socio-cultural practice and hence its emergence was governed by multiple phenomenon. It varied with the individual socioeconomic conditions, socio-structural contexts where they belonged to, their cultural beliefs on betel quid chewing and the social meanings that were given within their particular society.

4.8.1.1 Indefinite and weak laws and legislations underlay the popularity of betel quid chewing practices

From this research it was revealed that the SLT product component was not specifically included in the current enacted tobacco control law despite of its weak application. Current tobacco control law was emphasized mainly on control of tobacco smoking and varieties of implemented activities were related to protecting people from smoke. The prohibition of betel quid sales, consumption and spitting was not specifically defined in terms of area and the population target to be controlled. The weak designation and using of the broad terms, SLT products, made people unrecognized that the betel quid chewing was a kind of tobacco consumption that was highly prevalence in the society and embedded in the daily life of the majority of the community. Low taxation on betel quid with tobacco made proliferation of betel stalls available in the society. Due to multiple type of betel quid, the taxation limited to betel quid with tobacco made the legislations difficult to come true when the betel sellers hide their tobacco products. Therefore, the laws and legislations was the macro level contributing factor that underlay the mushrooming of betel stalls and availability of betel quid in a relatively low price which in turns lead to the multiplication of betel chewer in the community.

4.8.1.2 Prevalence of betel quid chewing practices in the community underlay the initiation of betel quid chewing practices

The prevalence of betel quid chewers with an abundance of betel stalls in the community was the place where ready to culture the young men who came from different phenomenological conditions. This structural context gave young man high possibility and repeated frequency to get into contact with betel quid in every corner of their moving. This repeated and consistent visualization aroused young men with high curiosity to experiment it.

4.8.1.3 Social suffering underlying the exposure towards betel quid chewing practices

No matter how the betel chewing practice was prevalence in the community, there must have some conditions triggered young men exposure to it. As betel quid chewing was the socially constructed behavioral practice, it would not emerge without relationships with social practice. Thus betel quid chewing practice was likely to be contracted by the young men because of the nature of their high exposure to the community.

In this study, it was found out that more than half of the participants were attributed by the socioeconomic situation that drove them exposed to the betel chewers' community. More than two third of the interviewed informants were under the experience of social suffering either due to the poor family structure or economic insufficiency or both. These conditions exposed young men with limited skills and education to work at the outside world where demand less skill and lower status of education. The lower life skill working environment where full of betel chewer, trapped the young men who exposed to it to practice with betel quid chewing.

Ko Win was a 32 years old man who was brought up from low socioeconomic family. He had 8 siblings in his family and his father was a hard laborer worked at the jetty. Although he prepared betel quid for his father to take along to his work, due to the limited number of ingredient, it could not draw his attention interesting about it. Rather he was lazy to prepare it.

Because of poverty, he had to work in every summer school brake for financial support to the family. He started working when he was 11 years old. Since he was still young with no education and skill, he could work only in the lower life skill job as a helper particularly in the construction field. He worked every year with different boss in different sections such as mason, electric wiring and painting. There were full of betel chewers in those societies. He did whatever he was assigned, included bought the betel quid from outside for them. Due to repeated exposure to betel quid and repeated visualization of senior colleges' chewing, he became interested on it. He started imitating their practice, by starting like this he became contracted with it.

Similarly, another 21 year old young man Ko Zaw, participated in young FGDs, had engaged with betel chewing from the workplace after detach from family.

Ko Zaw was a 21 year old young man who left home since 5 years ago because of the poor relationship with his father. After he had conflict with his father, he left home and he arrived to the current place where he had no relative and friend. However, he tried to survive. He worked whatever it was available. He helped other people' house work such as collected water for domestic use, broke the firewood at the restaurant, etc. He ate food fed by them and he wore the old dress received from his exchange labor.

Later, he got a job at a tea shop opened only from the night time up till morning. He worked there as a waiter. He was happy and busy with his concentration submerged in his work while there were many customers. But he felt sleepy and boring when all customers left and no frequent customer came after midnight. However, it was his duty to wait for the customer and give service to them. Always only he was waiting with his boss, who was a betel chewer, every night up till the dawn. After repeated visualization to his

boss's chewing, he took a quid and started chewing it when he felt sleepy and boring in his work. He believed that betel quid kept his boss alert without sleepy. After experienced to it, he realized that chewing betel quid kept him awake. It also diverted his concentration on chewing so that it helped him forget about his feeling on the family. Besides, betel chewing gave him a sense of having a friend and thus helped him relief from boring. That's why he continued betel quid chewing starting from that time.

These findings suggested that low economic condition was an important factor that forced young men to work in whatever situation without any choice which in turn drove them exposed to betel chewer community. Jumping into the high prevalence betel chewer community aroused the curios young men and thereby led them to imitate other people's practice. Moreover, worked in the lower life skill and poor job conditions, caused them suffered from boring, with no self esteems and full of job alienation. That made young men to solve the problem themselves from those suffering. Therefore, the majority of young men who worked in the poor working conditions became contract with betel quid chewing.

4.8.1.4 Curiosity initiates young men towards betel quid chewing practices

No matter how the cultural context of social gathering had changed, no matter how the traditional practice of social duties between interpersonal relationships existed, no matter how people had been placed into the betel chewer community, without curiosity hardly able to draw the interest of young men to chew betel quid.

The majority of the respondents participated in this study became betel chewer due to their strong interest as a result of curiosity. It was the nature of people, particularly young men they could not stop their curiosity. They curious about whatever other people did. They had the strong sense of curiosity on the matter that they had never experienced. This curious nature of young men pushed them to follow other people's practice.

4.8.1.5 Imitating others' practices determined betel quid chewing practice

Imitating and following other people's practice was the nature of young men. They normally appreciated and wanted to imitate what other people practice, particularly if they thought it was popular in their society. Besides, young men

wanted to experiment themselves with whatever they had heard, they had seen was true. They said practice made them believe it. This was also the nature of young men. Therefore, by looking at what other people were doing the new things augmented their curiosity to experiment with it. In this study, most of the participants became engaged with betel chewing due to their every day closed contact with betel quid chewing practice in their community. This repeated visualization aroused their curiosity and finally end up with emulating other people's practice.

Ko Sai, 20 years old young man was an example. He was the young informant belonged to betel chewer family. His father chewed and sold betel when he was young. However, he did not recognize his father chewing and he thought that it was the routine and a natural practices. Later, he recognized chewing betel was not good from his aunt, and then he tried to hide his father's betel quid rather than interested to chew it.

Starting from 18 years of age, he started sharing the workload of his father by driving a motor cycle taxi alternatively. There was a betel stall located in front of the taxi stand. He frequently killed his spare time at betel stall when he visited his aunt's house which was opposite to the betel quid stall. Many colorful boxes made the betel quid stall busy and be rich in varieties of betel quid ingredients. He saw many people came and bought the betel quid and chewed it. He also saw the betel seller threw a quid into his mouth while preparing.

He started curious on it. He curious on how was its taste and why many people chewed it. That curious sense drove him to taste it. Started from experiment with it, he chewed betel quid up till now.

This suggested that regardless of how young men disliked the betel quid chewing during their child age, once they repeated exposure to the high prevalence community, they were stimulated to follow other people's practices.

4.8.1.6 Cultural beliefs and society's acceptance underlay the engagement of betel chewing practice.

Betel chewing was the socio-cultural practice that emerged under multiple phenomenological conditions. Once young men exposed to the prevalence betel chewer community, their closed contact and repeated visualization aroused their interest to practice on it. However, the attributed condition that initiated them towards whether or not engaged with betel quid chewing varied largely between person to person. It was depend on their cultural beliefs, the symbolic meanings that they gave on betel quid chewing and their embodiment of masculinity related to the betel chewing practice.

Among those stated conditions, their cultural beliefs on betel chewing practice that fit to their working condition; less health risk to the society; and their perceived benefits obtained from betel quid chewing was the most common factor that facilitated young men participated in this study decided to engage with betel quid chewing.

Ko Theik, was a 22 year old young man who came to Mandalay from another village for life skill training when he had no more interest in study at the age of 12. He learnt the car mechanic service at his uncle's car workshop. There were many betel chewers in that workplace. As he was the most junior one, he started at assisting the senior on whatever he had been assigned. Bought betel quid for his senior was one of his routing assigned tasks. He was grown up with the betel quid and betel chewers in his working community. He saw betel quid everywhere in his workplace. But he was not interested on it at the beginning.

Later, he became closer to a senior betel chewers for hands on training when he was about 16 years of age. After several years of repeated exposure, he started curious on why they chewed it. His curiosity led him believed that betel quid chewing facilitated their thinking capacity. It was particularly prominent when they encountered with technical difficulty. He believed that chewing betel helped the seniors could memorize where the accessories had been taken out and it helped them to replace it to the right place without difficulty. That perception attracted his interest to be capable as them. That made him followed their practice.

In addition, he perceived that betel quid chewing was convenient and fit with his working condition. It was danger to smoke in the car workshop where there were many gasoline. Moreover, chewing betel was hands free so that they could work without any disturbance in their work. Besides, due to its nature of less visibility, he could practice even he was under closed observation and tight control of his aunty.

He expressed that he needed high concentration and creative thinking in order to find out the problem and the way how to solve it. He added that it was quite boring and caused them sleepy to work for a long time under such high concentration without speaking. By recognizing of all these benefits, he became more decisive to practice on it.

This finding suggested that, betel quid chewing was long been perceived as less dangerous than tobacco smoking because it was more individualistic, produced no social harm and did not commit an accident by not adding the smoke to the society. Similarly, it was more socially accepted than alcohol drinking because alcohol drinking provoked severe social outcomes that disturbed and annoyed to the society.

4.8.1.7 The symbolic meanings of betel quid chewing underlay towards betel quid chewing practice

High prevalence of betel chewer reflected the betel quid chewing popularity. It was natural that young men were prone to be attracted by any new interests; particularly it was popular in their society. Practiced what was popular meant “modernize” in most of the young men's perceptions. Besides, the majority of young men perceived that chewing betel was “stylish” in their time. They perceived if they applied what they thought it was style and popular showed that they were modernized and fashion.

Some young men in this study were with this mind sense while they started to follow and model other people betel quid chewing practice. They tried it as they wanted to be modern and to be part of that society. They did care of the consequences they just followed the modernity. This attitude towards betel quid chewing was one of the factors triggered young men towards betel quid chewing.

Ko Naing was a 34 years old swimming trainer. He started his betel quid chewing practice since he was a high school student about 15 years of age. They used to gather at the betel quid shop and headed towards tuition. At that time many of his friends and the senior students were betel chewers. They made style in front of the girl and among many people in the tuition. They intentionally spit out the betel juice and added a quid into mouth because they thought that it was the style. Young men perceived talking with betel quid chewing, laughing, and spit out betel juice in front of others were the styles and they indented to show that they were modernized. He interested on their chewing and he perceived their chewing was stylish. Therefore, he had no objection when he had been challenged by his friends to practice betel quid chewing. He felt that he was not modernized, left behind others and he was being perceived as not modernized if he did not chew betel. He did not want to be like that so he followed others' practice that's why he became betel chewer and addicted to it.

This finding suggested that young men with high curiosity had a very high tendency to be influenced by their strong will of modeling others. That made them wanted to experiment with whatever they perceived popular in their society. That guided them contracted with betel quid chewing.

4.8.1.8 Masculinity facilitated curious young men to engage with betel quid chewing

In Myanmar, the patriarchal concept and the belief of different biological construction between men and women conceptualized the expectation of

people up on men to be the leadership of the family. They were expected to be bravery, took responsibility, wise and knowledgeable, physically stout and with sound morality. As such, they were socially outweighed over women with less control and restriction. They were grown up under the socialization of the family and society with expecting towards these characteristics. They were permitted to have a wider social life and it was accepted as their natural practice.

These socially constructed expectations were transformed into the characteristics of young men that shaped their gender practices and guided them to the commitment of betel quid chewing practices.

31 year old man, Ko Too, started his betel quid chewing practice since he was about 16 years of age. Due to the declining economic situation, he stopped study and started working in order to support his family. He worked very hard, although there was great alienation because, he admitted, that was the challenge. He must be succeeded if he had been challenged. That was his manliness sense. In addition, he was governing with the spiritual sense that men should be experienced and there should not have anything that he had never experience. With this sense embedded in his mind, he started betel quid chewing when he curious on senior' chewing.

He modeled them because he wanted to be as them. He thought that they were brave and manly. He had encountered very severe bad experiences from his chewing. However, he kept on chewing as he was influenced by the bride of indomitable sense. He had been strongly controlled by the family persons. He never gave up because he thought that only chewing betel made him manliness and men should take a risk to attain their achievement.

This finding suggested that betel quid chewing was widely accepted as culturally descended traditional practice. Its social impact was less when compared with other practices such as cigarette smoking and alcohol drinking that had been largely prohibited by the family and felt offended by the society. However, it became perceived as dirty and ugly, since betel juice was polluted to the environment with its red stained betel juice. Moreover, it cost money for person who addicted to it. Those were the immediate outcomes, besides, it was known to be produced subsequent health hazard if continue chewing. Therefore, betel quid chewing became regulated by most of the family. Nevertheless, under the influence of masculinity, challenged them to take risks and compete with other's practice. The ideology of hegemonic masculinity moved young men forward to continue chewing it.

4.8.2 Re-engagement of betel quid chewing practices after quitting

No matter how many benefits that the participants had gained from their betel quid chewing practice, many participants had stopped from chewing. The reasons that caused quit from chewing varied with persons. The majority of the reasons reported were due to frighten from the health threat through observed in their society. It was also due to self experiences of immediate poor health outcome. Some encountered social control either in the family or workplace. Some realized of socioeconomic burden, some encountered with inconvenience to chew betel quid and poor society's perception up on their chewing practice.

Betel quid was the fourth most popular addicted substances. Therefore, the majority of participants had encountered from both physical and mental discomfort when stopped from chewing because almost all of them had chewed for a long period. Yet, some participants said that the severity and ability to overcome the suffering was depending upon the individual biological construction and their willingness towards quitting. However, no one succeeded in their cessation. Despite all the participants aware of betel quid chewing was addictive and given multiple health hazards, they re-engaged to chew it again when there was an opportunity. Re-exposure to the environmental contexts where had no social regulation, but composed of high prevalence of betel chewer was the most important factors that stimulated ex-chewers to re-engage it again, rather than impossible to resist the suffering from quitting.

25 years old Ko Tun, was a cycle taxi driver. He started betel quid chewing since he was a middle school student, 13 years of age, while he was staying at another village with his grandmother who was a betel chewer. He engaged with betel quid chewing through preparing for his grandmother every day. But he chewed only occasionally. Then he stopped chewing when he backed home because no betel quid was available as there was no betel chewer at home.

When he was 20 years old, he moved to Mandalay to work there because of poor agricultural production and having of a step mother. He stayed at his uncle's house where his cousin was a betel chewer. He did not interest to chew betel at the beginning. He became re-chewed again when he repeatedly exposed to his cousin's chewing and spitting.

He became regular betel quid chewer when he had to overcome the overwork load under the limited human resources. He believed that chewing betel quid could relieve from tiredness and increase energy. He chewed more when he worked as a hard laborer for loading and unloading at fertilizer retail shop.

He changed his job and worked as a promoter in a company due to low wages in the previous job. People worked in the company included student, doctor, nurses, and graduated persons but nobody chewed betel. He had been compliant by his boss in front of other colleagues related to his betel quid chewing. He felt shame to be the only betel chewer and he felt frustrated to talk with his boss while chewing betel quid. He stopped chewing it due to these constraints.

Later, he changed to work as a cycle taxi driver. In that environment almost everybody, included cycle taxi drivers and security guards were betel quid chewers. He again jumped into the betel chewer community. He felt hunger when he saw many people chewed it. In addition, he felt exempted from social control since all people there were betel quid chewer. Besides, betel quid chewing was hand free, no disturbed to his driving and not harm to his customer. These perceived convenience and favorable environmental condition permitted him to resume his betel quid hewing practice again.

This study revealed that re-engagement was more likely to be influenced by the environmental context rather than stimulating by the addictive experiences. It was cleared that favorable environmental contexts gave the ex-chewers strength to liberate their re-engagement without any hesitation due to the lack of social regulation and class differentiation. In addition, their worrisome on health threatening was underweighted by the desire of re-chewing when they exposure to the high betel chewer's community. It was backed up by their cultural beliefs and perceived benefits experienced from previous chewing. This perception and the stimulant from high prevalence of betel quid chewing aroused the ex-chewers dare to re-engaged again with betel quid chewing. Therefore, the betel chewing practice remained popularity in today's contemporary society.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

Based on knowledge known, this is the first qualitative study to measure the socio-structural contexts that attribute towards betel quid chewing practice; to explore the symbolic meanings embedded in the betel chewers' community and the betel quid chewing experiences of young adult Myanmar betel chewer men, living in contemporary society of Myanmar.

Understanding the contextual community among men is pivotal to advocate policy makers of different departments concerned to undertake specific interventions related to measures to control SLT products. This study found that policy is an important macro level that determines the context of betel quid chewing practice at the community level.

Weak application and indefinite composition of the current control of smoking and consumption of tobacco products law gives the room for the booming up of betel stall and betel chewer in the community which in turn allows further proliferation of betel quid business and betel chewers. Therefore, it is essential to amend the current tobacco law with the inclusion of a specific component of SLT products (betel quid) in order to downsize the betel chewer community. This community is the major attracting tool for most young adult men.

A low 20% tax on betel quid with tobacco exacerbates betel quid availability at a relatively low price. The low taxation designated on "betel quid with tobacco" has overlooked the role of the areca nut's addictive and carcinogenic properties (WHO, 2004). This finding suggests that there is a need to advocate policy makers regarding the concern not only to increase taxes on betel quid with tobacco, but consumption of betel quid without tobacco should also be taken into account as substance use.

In addition to the high prevailing and enabling betel chewer's environmental context, economic insufficiency and workplace were found to be important factors contributing towards engagement of betel chewing. In this study, the engagement of betel chewing practice among the majority of informants was started from their workplace. Family conflict and economic needs drive their exposure to the poor working community where betel quid chewing is highly prevalent. This finding shows that high consumption and the prevalence of betel quid chewing is underlined by social suffering in relation to economic insufficiency. Reports stated that SLT was increasingly consumed by the lower socioeconomic population (Kyaing et al., 2005) and tobacco consumption has high potential of leading members of society towards poverty (Kyaing et al., 2005), but there was a limited concern regarding the prevalence of smokeless tobacco used as a social product of poverty. Therefore, there is a need to improve the socioeconomic status of members of society, particularly that of vulnerable young adult men. At the same time the workplace was found to be one of the major points to deploy the smokeless tobacco control measure.

There is no doubt that betel quid chewing is a generally accepted socio-cultural practice. Although some reports pointed out that increasing knowledge would lead to the changes of attitude towards smokeless tobacco consumption (Win, Nyunt, Maung, & Mya, 2009) and the high prevalence of consumption was found to be due to the lack of knowledge of the danger of its use (Kyaing et al., 2005), this study found out that the lack of knowledge of the outcome health risk is not likely to be the factor that triggers the popularity of betel quid chewing. Rather, it was due to the presence of wide spread cultural beliefs rooted in the community as SLT is less severe than smoking. This misconception not only overlooks the health burden of betel quid chewing imposed on betel chewer, but also allows betel quid chewers to feel free to enjoy it due to its nature of individualistic characteristic and being "smokeless" which is believed to cause no harm to consumers and the society.

The perceived convenience that fits with the working conditions of the nature of hand-free practice does play an important role in young adult men' selection towards choosing to chew betel quid. This finding suggests that an extensive health education program on the poor outcomes of smokeless tobacco control is needed to change the cultural belief of the entire community.

Furthermore, masculinity was found to be a major factor contributing to the process of facilitating the engagement of betel quid chewing practice. While the betel chewing practice has been perceived as a gender practice, the characteristic of masculinity for instant risk taking, habit of modeling, high curiosity and demand of experiential facilitates them to experiment with their new interests. The ideology of hegemonic masculinity augments their self challenges and exercises power relationship between themselves and among other betel chewing men in their society. This leads to affirmation of the betel chewing practice. Therefore, a culturally sensitive gender based health education program on strong concepts of masculinity that misleads young men towards risk taking is needed for behavior change of the. age specific target population.

With regards to the betel chewing experiences, this study had found out that the majority of betel chewers participated in this study has very strong perception of the benefits of betel chewing in relation to their work. They believed that betel chewing helps them concentrate, gives relief from boredom, stabilizes their mind, gives relief from stress, and keeps them alert. These perceived benefits tie betel quid chewers to sustain their betel quid chewing practice. However, many of the participants involved in this study did recognize that chewing betel quid is addictive, is a threat to health and gives rise to social impacts such as costing money. Poor perception in some societies, social controls in the working environment and self regulation in some social settings were other factors recognized. None of respondents in this study wanted their juniors to chew betel quid regardless of who they are. This finding highlights the constraints surrounding betel quid chewing. It is a social taboo. Hence this impression would be the fundamental ground that could initiate the success of betel quid control intervention.

All the above findings elucidate the social influences and cultural motivation for the betel quid chewing. Betel quid chewing holds considerable social and cultural values among betel chewers' perception. This often creates different motivations for engaging in betel quid chewing. Although this study is not generalized to the community beyond the study setting, however, it could provide the essential starting point to develop more relevant measures to evaluate prevalence and correlated

contextual factors, cultural beliefs and gender practices that drive towards betel quid chewing practice among young adult Myanmar men.

5.2 Discussion

This study was intended to discover why betel quid chewing is still popular among young adult Myanmar men in the contemporary contexts of Mandalay city. Through discovering the socio-structural factors that determine betel quid chewing practices, understanding the social and cultural meanings of betel quid chewing, exploring betel chewing practices and experiences of betel chewer, this research has elucidated the cultural context of the practice.

It was found that the presentation of betel quid in today's society was largely different from what has been royal prestige in the past. Today, it is confined mainly to the lower and lower-middle socioeconomic community. Its commencement was largely related to working in the lower life skill environment as a result of their socioeconomic needs that drive their exposure to work in conditions where a lack of social regulation exists. The additional suffering associated with their working conditions add to the commencement of betel quid chewing.

Entering the betel chewer community gives young men a great chance to mimic other people's practice. This entrance is motivated by curiosity. It was found that the majority of informants involved in this study had strong senses of masculinity, such as risk taking and challenging that misled them to affirm betel quid chewing practice before they became addicted to it.

Furthermore, the cultural belief in the severity and possibility of outcome risk production obtained from betel chewing practice has governed the choice of young men' behavioral practice.

As such these three points will be the main issues of concern in discussion.

5.2.1 Social suffering and betel quid chewing practices

According to critical medical anthropology (CMA) perspective, drug use is the major consequence of inequity exerted by the political economic system. Critical

medical anthropological (CMA) model views the drug use within the context of macro-level structures such as prominent economic inequity, institutionalized social control, systems of discrimination; and power relationship such as the emergence of social classes, unequal relations among developed and underdeveloped countries.

While aiming towards democracy, Myanmar is transforming its business to an open trade market following the changing economic system worldwide. This provokes a great opening for elite groups to monopolize such businesses. They mobilize the majority of business opportunities under the capitalist economic system. The people with fewer resources living in the city become less powerful. They cannot resist the market expansion of a capitalist economy and thus they are displaced to the outskirts of the city. The monopoly of capitalist economics puts the poor on the margins. Their lower educational status move them from the poor to the poorest working condition where required less skill and lower status of education. At such, they are again marginalized in the Mandalay city.

The environmental contexts of Mandalay city is developing with the information, communication and transportation system. This advancement provide people the opportunity of exposure to the outer world where full of socially active information. The flow of information affects on the young men's character. At the same time make them encounter stressful condition as a result of unmet psychosocial suffering.

The transformation of the market strategy at the macro-level made stronger the elite groups but worsen the micro-level community. The economic bias creates prominent economic inequity that leads to power imbalance and the emergence of social classes between the poor and the elites. This system of discrimination affects the psychosocial and economic conditions of the community which in turns drives them encounter social suffering. Therefore, many marginalized people are finding out their way to solve their social suffering.

Singer expressed that the outside forces exerted by the capitalist economy transform the market strategy and labor practices. This transformation changes the traditional practices and cultural meaning of substance use (Baer, Singer, & Susser, 1997). Hence, today's popularity of betel quid chewing is not merely the dissemination of cultural practice. Rather it is the social products exerted by the

capitalist economy. It is the social change from what has long been accepted as cultural practice into a socially constructed self medicated behavioral practice.

The increasing trade of legally and illegally imported industrialized tobacco products from neighboring countries reflects the market move of a capitalist economy. Similarly, this cultural belief of betel quid chewing allows policy makers to overlook the severe health consequences that are a result of betel quid chewing. The economic move in the way of new tobacco products development, the weak control and the low taxation on importation of industrialized tobacco products, and the inappropriate licensing of betel quid selling allows betel quid market expansion. Therefore, the young man who has high exposure to the outside society has greater opportunities to contact with betel quid chewing. At such, the betel chewers are multiplying and betel stalls are mushrooming.

The abundant of betel quid stalls and the popularity of betel quid chewing in the community, the phenomenon of irregularity to regularity reflects social suffering. CMA model viewed the drug use and the causes that lead to the addiction under three major issues. They are the social production of suffering; self-medication with drug use to relief the emotional injuries resulting from social injustice and mismanagement; and the political economy of legal and illegal drug markets (Singer, 2012).

The issue of power imbalance, inequality, oppression and exploitation creates the social environment within which the individual level is actualized. This intimately contributes to the social shaping of individual experiences, the social constitution of human bodies and the social production of potential pathways of personal action. Therefore, experience of chewing betel quid is part of social suffering that is a result of hard work and poor working conditions. This is practiced at the community level as a consequence of the external forces exerted from the macro-level capitalist economy. Furthermore, the system of the capitalist economy lacks the medical system to educate, to regulate and to advertise the dangers of betel quid chewing. The way society moves toward a market economy drives the poor towards further exposure to stressful manual labor. This adds to the attraction of betel quid chewing as a coping mechanism.

This study found that CMA is congruent with what was happening in the context of reality.

Ko Aye was 30 years old man who came from a nearby village and was currently working as a goldsmith worker in Mandalay. He was the fourth out of seven siblings from a farmer family. Due to the large family size and economic insufficiency, he had to stay with his uncle monk and study at monetary. When he was 15 years old after attending the seven standards, the poverty dedicated him stopped from study and put him into the workplace. His uncle monk told to his father that it would be burdened to the family and they would encounter more poverty if continue support him for further study, because it was still a long way to be proceeded. Due to poverty, his father accepted his uncle monk suggestion and let him work in the Mandalay city. He was sent with his boss who came to the village looking for the life skill trainees.

He had no idea and no objection. He just went along with his boss under family decision. He stayed at his boss's house. Sometimes, he ate with the boss's family, but not always he could enjoy regular meal, he sometimes missed to eat because of no money. However, he tried to survive and learn the life skill training in order to away from poverty.

He worked from the morning 8:00AM to evening 8:00PM together with other senior colleagues. At that time there were two betel quid chewers in his workplace, one was the son and another was brother in law of his boss. Due to the strict regulation and frequent reminder from his boss and unequal class between those two betel chewers and him, he had never interested on betel quid chewing. The lack of income, strict observation and different classes with existing model were the factors that kept him out of interest on betel quid chewing.

His boss died when he was twenty years of age since that time he was out of supervision. The freedom of supervision gave him a chance of liberty. At that time, there were already four betel chewers in his working colleagues. Those four betel chewers were older than him and had attained the certain level of life skill capacity. This was likely to be the factor that shaped the society's acceptance on their betel quid chewing practice. On the other hand, betel quid chewing was not strictly prohibited when chew after grown up and had the capacity to earn money. Starting from that time, he enjoyed by following with his colleges. They became more exposed to the outside world compare to before, from which he had never heard about what beer was into the free liberal state that allowed him to practice his new interest freely.

The lack of social control and having betel chewers in the same class gave him strength of freedom without restriction and feeling of class differentiation. But he chewed betel quid only occasionally.

His father passed away five years later. He treated his father with his highest effort. However, his father left behind him after consuming all his money. He had no money and no job. Worse than that was because he lost his pilot and he lost his lived God. He became the forsaken. Although he had the elder siblings but they were less capable and knowledgeable than

him. He admired his father and his father was such important in his life. He felt so depressed. He drank and chewed betel heavily starting from that time. He was hopeless; he tried to be in the state that would let him to death. He chewed more betel quid whenever he felt annoyed since it was the only outlet that fit with his working environment.

At the same time, he encountered with inconvenience in the workplace frequently. When he attained certain level of technical advancement, he was ordered to finish two day's tasks within one day by his employer. He felt stress under the high demand of boss family. The worst issue for him was he had to take the responsibility on the lost occurred during processing. However, he could not reject though it was full of dissatisfaction and inequity. He had to work overtime; he had worked at the night time. He felt sleepy and has no motivation working long time under high concentration, stressful condition and full of dissatisfaction. He wanted to sing a song, but it would disturb others concentration. Therefore, he chewed betel quid in order to relief from sleepy and away from stress. He felt that chewing betel quid kept him awake, improved hi concentration on his work and let him fall away from others. Chewing betel quid gave him a feeling of having a friend with him. He chewed betel more and continuously whenever he felt frustrated and upset, although he was not physically feeling well with betel quid chewing.

5.2.2 Masculinity and betel quid chewing practices

Gender plays an important factor in the cause of drug use (Anderson, 2001). Addiction and drug use was related to the individual demand to attain their gender status, which is socially and culturally constructed (Henderson & Boyd, 1992). On the other hand, social norms, gender and gender socialization has influenced drug use, particularly for those who have strict expectations on their gender conformity (Anderson, 2001).

Masculinity is the category of gender identity constructed socially and interpreted from a cultural perspective. However, it is changing according to the contexts and changes over time. In the normative definition, masculinity as the social norms represents the behavior of men. This indicates that men desire gender-affirming characteristics as part of their masculinity. Masculinity can also be defined as the process and the relationships through which men conduct their gendered lives (Connell, 2005). In addition, masculinity is defined as active, risk-taking, responsibility, irresponsibility, aggression and even Zeus energy (Connell, 2005)

In Myanmar, men are socially constructed and they were brought up likely to meet the needs of the patriarchal system with the given social norms on the gender

roles of what men should be. These socially constructed gender roles have become the identity of men and also determine the way they socialize and stereotype themselves. In their idea, men are the breadwinner and leader whereas women are always the follower. Therefore being the leader, men are supposed to be strong, smart, brilliant, experienced, capable, with a broader mind, kind, honest, devoted, have their own idea and decision making power, work hard, decisive, who can earn the money, take responsibility, and be the leader of the family. Men who have those kinds of characters are true men. The gender roles of the men have dedicated the men with the characteristic of curiosity, sociability, bravery, risk taking, able to respond, and welcome the challenges with confidence.

This cultural perception has socialized man to have more freedom but less control. It has also resulted in men who complain about what they are doing. Being sociable is an essential requirement of men for their social networking and business hunting. Society permits them and it is perceived as natural. The sociable lifestyle of young men thus forms the gateway for them to meet with betel chewers in the community. In fact, they are very curious about this new interest because they are young. It is also one of their characteristic that they cannot stop from their curious. In addition, the responsibilities and leadership role of men trigger them to work outside. This causes them to engage in betel chewing practices.

Along with natural curiosity and the gender roles of responsibility, young men are expected to be wise and experienced. They demand of themselves that they should experience everything. They want to experiment, particularly with what is new, assumed to be popular and gives them style (Kyaing et al., 2005). Doing what other people are doing means that they are expanding their knowledge and widening their experiences. Additionally, young men like to be in group. For those young men who are involved in the group, they can easily mimic their peers/friends. At the same time, they may encounter either peer pressure or encouragement from their friends to chew betel quid. In this sense, the desire for experience pushes them towards betel quid chewing so that they will be perceived as the same as all men. Therefore, chewing betel quid is perceived as part of their manhood.

Moreover, due to the differences in gender norms and cultural perception on biological construction of men and women, women are viewed as weak. Women

are more conservative, dependent and are protected. Women do not go out and are not as sociable as men. Therefore, the outside world seems to be the space for men. Men occupy every place of the community, particularly social activities and public places. Since betel quid chewing is a socially constructed practice and it is also the practice mainly conducted by the men in the community, it is viewed as masculine practice. The external space in society is then given over to men.

Connell (2005) explained masculinity as the practices that become deemed as the personality or characterization of a man. If they fail to act, it means that they are not masculine. Masculinity also represents the differences that exist between men. It also represents the differences that exist between women; and finally the differences that exist between men and women. This ideological domination augments young men to challenge and exercise power among themselves. Backing down from this challenge lowers them to the status of being “less than a man”.

Betel quid chewing is accepted due to its nature of individualistic characteristic and it was a culturally descended practice. However, today's perception and the acceptance of betel quid chewing have changed. It has been viewed as a risky practice due to its consequences on health and social impact. Therefore, persons who chew betel are supposed to be and have been perceived as problematic, risk taking, challenging, don't care of society' perception, let out of being a bad boy image, stubborn and difficult to control. Therefore, some young men think that doing what is not socially acceptable, is brave.

In addition, betel quid are mainly chewed by men since ancient times in Myanmar. Therefore, young men normally challenge themselves to be able to chew betel quid like other men despite the consequences that they get from the very first experience. They felt strange if they did not well done as other did. It is the indomitable spirit that challenges them to keep on going rather than to stop practicing. As a result, all the participants in this study had become betel quid chewers. Some participants even exercised power upon non-chewing men, stating that those men are lower than them and that they are not men. Therefore, the behavior of betel quid chewing has given rise to a sense of manliness and the meaning of exercising power and challenges towards other young men.

Chewing betel and spitting betel juice in front of other people is being perceived as smart and brave. They think that they look cool, smart, beautiful and stylish with their red lips. Due to this, they get attention from the girls and people in general. Apart from that, betel quid chewing made them confident. Therefore, the men who chew betel quid indicated through this habit that they have the characteristics of what “a man” should be.

Ko Too was 31 years old man who chewed betel for about 15 years duration. He was doing tattoo designing business at the time of study. He had many experiences and he did many things that were against with his parents when he was young. In his sense, man should be brave, have experiences, and dare to do everything without reluctant and be able to respond particularly when being challenged. He did perceive that men should contribute and take responsibility of the family.

He was born from a poor socioeconomic condition family. He was the second out of three siblings. His father was a carpenter who was the only person taking responsibility of the family. His father had to work very hard, however, it was hardly enough for their family. His father got drunk because of distress from financial insufficiency. His family business was deteriorating when he was a high school student about 15 years of age. That's why he stopped his study and started working.

He worked for the wood carving. Although he was assigned to finish many sculptures within a short period, he got very low paid. He worked very hard, although there was great alienation because he admitted that it was the challenge. He had the spirit that men must be succeeded if they had been challenged. That was his manliness sense.

At that time there were many betel chewers in his working environment. People whoever older, same age or young then him were betel quid chewers. He started curious on it when he saw those people chewing every day. He was a person who had a sense that men should be experience and there should not have anything that he had never experiment. Due to this sense embedded in his mind, he started practicing betel chewing when he curious on other people's practices. He modeled them because he wanted to be as them. He thought that they were brave and manly. He had encountered very severe bad experiences in his first experience. However, he kept on chewing as he was influenced by the pride of indomitable sense.

Apart from that, he had cut his hand when he was challenged by his friend. In his mind sense that was the character of young men they would do whatever they wanted to do without considering the consequences. His engagement of betel quid chewing was also related with this sense. He chewed betel quid with the idea that men should dare to do if other people were able to do.

Majority of young men were curious and they loved to follow whatever other people did. They liked to model other people, particularly if they thought it was popular. In addition, most young men believed that chewing

betel quid looked manlier, particularly when they chewed and spit out betel juice in front of the girl.

He had been strongly controlled by family persons, but he never gave up because he thought that only chewing betel made him manliness. He has a strong sense that men should take a risk to attain their experiences. He perceived that it was the character of young men who loved to against from being controlled, it was natural that the more they were being controlled the more they liked to challenge, test and experiment. They believed it was “hero” if they dare to against the society and dare to do what was not socially accepted. He commented that it was the “freedom” character of young men.

From this study it was found out that masculinity plays a crucial role that determine young men to contract with betel quid chewing practices. The characteristics of masculinity initiate young men’s curious on what other people are doing. That triggers them to experiment with it. The sense of masculinity embedded in their unconscious mind pushes them to practice as others in order not to be lower than others. This competitive sense of masculinity triggers curious men to exercise power upon them to move forward with betel quid chewing even they encounter with poor experiences. This hegemonic masculinity governs the men who construct strong masculinity, decisively towards their achievement of gender practice. The findings from this study indicated that the strong concepts of masculinity overwhelm the male perceptions which in turn determine men’s decision on betel quid chewing. Therefore, masculinity is the determinant that underlies the popularity of the betel quid chewing confine in the men society.

5.2.3 Culture and betel quid chewing practices

Geertz (1973a) defined culture is a set of concepts that determine the meanings of an object given by the society in the context of a particular cultural system. In Myanmar, betel quid has been defined as an instrument to communicate with the spirit to get their protection and to wash out the evil spirit. It is also perceived as a food and an essential item that honor to *Nat* (spirit) in traditional worshipped. This religious belief sustains the usage of betel quid in today community.

Geertz (1973b) also argued that culture is not something locked inside people’s head but somewhat it signifies the ways the meanings are transmitted and expressed in the form of symbols. In Myanmar cultural practice, betel quid has also

been defined as an item that offers together with pickle tea leaf and tobacco either cigarette or cheroot to monk and any guest as hospitality. Any social activities will not be completed without including betel quid. This is the symbol, the meaning of betel quid which is given by the society. It is denoting its cultural values in social function. This cultural practice remains particularly in the rural area and it is rarely used in today's urban city. The cultural transformation towards western practice occurs along with the development. That makes varieties of entertainment items such as coffee mix and soft drink available for hospital service in today's society. Besides, the changes in the way of social networking, for instance, meeting take place outside home, lead to the changes occur in the customary practice of hospitality

Miller (2004) stated that symbols diverse according to a particular culture. This study found out that the traditional role of betel quid hospitality is diminishing in urban city. However, it has been valued in another way around in today's traditional practices. It was found that the meanings, cultural beliefs and social practices of betel quid varied according to the particular cultural contexts. Different meanings are applied in different societal contexts.

For instance, it has been symbolized as an instrument to establish and strengthen the social friendship for the business networking. Besides, some business men believed that betel quid chewing gives them spiritual affect that makes their speech powerful. These practices and beliefs create the betel culture in the business society. That contributes the popularity of betel quid chewing among business broker men in this study. For the working population, betel quid has been perceived as a tonic that facilitates their working moods, particularly for those who work under poor working conditions. Thus it is believed that betel quid chewing is benefit to them with improves production. In the social activities, it is mainly used as an item of gratitude to those who contribute towards the smooth operation of activities. Although the target application is localized, it is still utilized in the majority of social activities.

Schneider perceived culture as a "core system" of symbols and meanings, in which we can find a deep-seated understanding of the "nature of the world" the "systemic aspects of culture" (Ortner, 1984). Therefore, the practice of offering the betel quid among the business men can be read as it is their culture, the way they start for friendship and social networking. Similarly, looking at the people working with

chewing betel quid can be understood that betel quid chewing has the supportive property to them.

Therefore, the perceptions and beliefs on the benefits resulting from betel quid chewing make them unable to work without betel quid chewing. This repeated practice, later forms the culture in their society.

Ko Too, 31 year old, a tattoo designer man expressed his perceptions, beliefs and experiences of betel quid chewing in relation to his working condition.

He was a person who experienced and believed that betel chewing has an effective role in establishing friendship and social network. He succeeded in getting a job by offering the betel quid to other people when he was looking for a job. He also confirmed this cultural belief with his experience obtained while he helped his girlfriend sold the betel quid. He saw many business men came to buy large amount of betel quid and bring along with them for their business networking.

Apart from that, a very strong belief embedded in his mind was that betel chewing provoked better concentration for him. As he was a tattoo designer, he would never draw the design without chewing betel. He said no matter people paid for their tattooing, he did not care and he never started working without chewing betel quid. He did not mind how long it would last and whether or not it would affect to his customer's because of delay start working. He said, chewing betel made him collect with his concentration so that he gave him power for creative thinking therefore, he could draw a good design automatically without any difficulty. This strong belief was not only applied in his work but also transmitted to his society. As such, whoever customer came to him aware of to being the betel quid for him in order to facilitate his working condition.

Different cultural beliefs on betel quid chewing provoke different social and cultural meanings. That determine the way people practice their betel quid chewing in their daily life and make sense of their daily activities.

5.3 Limitations of research

The researcher felt vulnerable when she encountered many difficulties. She was vulnerable because of being a medical doctor worked with the lower life skill working class men and being a middle class woman worked in a very male masculine space since all the respondents were men. The researcher reflexives herself during her field work again and again on the difficulties she encountered. The researcher realized

that it was due to the unfamiliarity of participant with the research, the lack of freedom to express and liberate the free talk as a consequence of long term oppression on the right to speak out, particularly if their information is going to be public. Gender difference between researcher and participants was another factor that contributed to the encountered difficulty.

The researcher tried to break through the gender barrier and conduct the research under natural and lively condition. Nonetheless, gender barrier and class differentiation might still be present and that might hinder the full elaboration of male participant to the woman researcher, particularly on their gender perspective, belief, feeling, their activities and practices.

The lack of freedom to speak out may threaten the participant to be cautious with their speech. Therefore, this worrisome may hold back the participant's full participation and free expression.

As such the information revealed in this study may be limited to represent the conditions that govern the engagement of betel quid chewing practices and the socio-cultural meanings exist in the community.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 General Recommendations

1. The amendment of the currently in placed tobacco control law with the clear adoption of smokeless tobacco control component with regards to the prohibition of its selling, consumption and spitting with defined targeted population and area location. The strong implication with continuous reinforcement on application is needed.

2. Betel quid is the extensive form of smokeless tobacco use in Myanmar. The adoption of culturally sensitive smokeless tobacco control program through licensure control and increase tax rate of smokeless tobacco products is recommended so as to reduce the betel quid stall proliferation and betel quid consumption population.

3. Advocate the policy makers and the stakeholders at both central and grass root levels to ensure the application of the set policy.

4. The majority of betel chewers in Myanmar are the male. This study also revealed that gender ideology and masculinity have an extreme influential effect on betel quid chewing practices. Therefore, various gender-sensitive behavior changed program is needed for betel quid chewing control for the Mandalay community.

5. Betel quid chewing practices is an addictive habit. Therefore, implementation of harms reduction intervention program for betel quid chewing control should be considered.

6. There is the need to incorporate the social and cultural factors influence the betel quid chewing practices into the diagnostic and assessment tool of substance use. The understanding of it will help the counselor or health care provider understand more about the addictive etiology of betel quid chewing and the standpoints of the betel quid chewer. As a result it will improve the patient doctor relationship and facilitate the cessation of betel quid chewing.

7. From this study it was found that most of the participants aware of betel quid chewing practice is ugly. They also realized that it is impolite to talk with the senior with betel chewing as speaking with a mouth full of betel quid hinder the clearness of voice and possible of sparking out of betel juice during speaking. Therefore, there would be a better outcome if these perceived constraints exist in the community are stretched in the behavioral change on betel quid chewing practice. For instance, taking the reference that the one who wants to quit is wanted to be a role model for their young generation.

8. All the participants in this study knew that betel quid chewing leads to addiction and poor health outcome. Majority of them believed that it is due to the effects of tobacco; only one man from FGDs mentioned that it is also related with areca nut. In addition, most of them have willingness to quit from betel quid chewing,

although they had experienced with re-engagement. Taking this awareness, the attitude of betel quid chewer towards quitting will be reinforced when the properties of tobacco and areca nut that produce poor health outcome and lead to betel quid addiction are emphasized in the health education program.

9. Peer pressure and encouragement were found to have influential effects on young men behavioral practice. Therefore, identify out the youth leader, train and utilize them as peer educator to deliver the positive messages. For instance, “modern men do not chew betel quid” or “being a man without chewing betel quid can be a good role model for their son.”

10. Collaborate with INGOs and concern ministries for effective and wide application of the developed educational program. It can be implemented through multiple approaches such as integrated in the school health program, broadcast a regular health education program through mass media and organize health education section frequently at the community level, particularly target to the male workplaces.

11. Simultaneous implementation of extensive smokeless tobacco control program and poverty alleviation program in collaboration with INGOs and other concerns ministries to curb the causes and effects between tobacco consumption and poor socioeconomic condition.

12. Develop the life skill training, particularly for the young adult men in order to upgrade their capacity to be able to work in better environmental working context, where determine the lifestyle and habitual practice of young men.

5.4.2 Recommendations for further studies

1. This study was carried out mainly with the involvement of lower and lower middle socioeconomic class young and adult men. Therefore, further studies should cover different young adult men from various socio-structural contexts so as to understand more about the factors influence the betel quid chewing practice.

2. This research included only the betel chewers so the information regarding the perceptions and the cultural beliefs on betel quid chewing may not be able to represent the ideas embodied in the general population. Therefore, a research with the involvement of none chewer should also be conducted so as to validate the perceptions and cultural beliefs on betel quid chewing exist in the community.

3. A research with women betel quid chewer should be carried out in order to validate the linkages between gender ideology and betel quid chewing practice.

4. This study involved only Burmese and Myanmar Chinese men, so that the research including of different ethnic groups should be carried out in order to see if there is cultural variation among the different ethnic population.

5. This study was carried out with the young and adult working men. A series of Global Tobacco Youth Survey showed that there was increasing prevalence among 13-15 years old young men. Therefore, another study focus on school attending young men should be conducted in order to reveal more about the socio-structural context that govern the betel quid chewing practice and discover if there is differences in gender perceptions between adolescent and young adult men. As a result, the educational program specific to different socio-structural contexts and age specific gender based educational program can be designed for effective intervention.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GUIDELINES FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Preparation

1. Contact with relatives friends who have wide social network
2. Discuss with relative and friends about the research and the needs of their support for participants recruitment.
3. Explained them about the participant selection criteria.
4. Visit the participants according to their suggestion.
5. Introduce my new identity as a student and a researcher
6. Explain about the research purpose and procedure, confidentiality, benefit of research and participation right and provide the translated participant information sheet to them for more understanding and give them time of consideration.
7. Follow up participants on their participation
8. Confirm about their participation and /or to support in networking
9. Confirm date for interviewing/ discussion
10. Asking for informed consent orally for their voluntary participation.
Participant selection criteria will be explained to them if they didn't want to participate but willing to support in recruitment
11. Conduct interview/ discussion according at their convenient time and place
12. Prepare tools for interview: note book and pen, recorder, camera
13. Ask the permission for voice recording, photo taking and use of their real name or pseudonyms in the report.

Experiences of betel quid chewing

1. Objective and subjective (commencement, experiences, sustaining, beliefs)
 1. How long have you been chew betel?
 2. Tell me how is your betel chewing practice started since the very beginning? (Age, how it was started, from where/whom did you get it, in

which occasion, under which context, chew with whom, type, amount, experiences)

3. How did you perceive betel chewing practice at that time?
4. How was / is your family control on your betel chewing?
5. How it is continued up to today?
6. How is the pattern of chewing nowadays? (type, when, amount, way of chewing) and why?
7. Tell me about the benefits or the experiences you gained from betel quid chewing? (physical, psychological experiences)
8. Have you ever quit from chewing? If yes, tell me about it? (Reasons for quitting, how long did it last, suffering from quitting)
9. How and why you became re-chew it again? (reasons for re-engagement)
10. Tell me about your experiences from community perception on your betel chewing practice? (social control, community view on betel quid chewing practices)
11. Have you ever heard about any health risks resulting from betel quid chewing? If yes, tell me about it? From where did you get it? Did you believe? How does it relate?

Social characteristic of betel chewer

1. Family History

Family structure

1. Are both of your parents staying together with you? (in order to know the status of family, divorce or deceased)
2. Tell me briefly about you're your life starting from child age (including number of family member, family structure, parents' occupation, economic condition, parents' education, siblings and his education and their daily life in family practice and occupation of other siblings)
3. Who is the major responsible person for financial support in your family right now?
4. How do you feel of your family economic status right now?
5. How is the relationship among your family members?

Family practice on betel chewing

6. Are there any betel chewers in your family members? If yes, how was it started? How did/do you perceive about their chewing?
7. If yes, what are the patterns of their betel chewing? (Type of betel quid they chew, when do they chew, from where they get it?)
8. How is the family control in regards to betel chewing?
9. How is betel quid being used in your family in terms of religious, cultural, and social activities?

2. Demographic data (age, sex, race, religion, residence, education, marital status, occupation, working experience, working duration, monthly income)

1. How old are you?
2. Are you Burmese? If not which ethnic group?
3. What is your religion?
4. Where are you staying?
5. Are you single or married? If married how long have you got married?
How is your family type? (nuclear, extended)

3. Education, occupation and working condition

1. Tell me briefly about your education? (studied up to which standard) If stopped, why?
2. Tell me about how you start get into work since the beginning? (when, why, what kind of job, working environment, how much got paid, how was the working condition)
3. How did your work relate to your betel chewing?
4. How did you get to work in current job?
5. Tell me about your current job? (working environment, nature of job, paid, satisfaction, suffering, sufficiency)
6. How the betel chewing practice is related with current work? (social networking, chewing for suffering, chewing due to cultural belief, experience of benefit)

Social structural context of betel chewer

1. Accessibility of betel quid

1. How is the accessibility of betel quid comparing with the past and present day?
2. How much does it cost?
3. How do you normally get reach to betel quid? (buy by self, prepare at home, share by friends)
4. Have you ever heard about betel quid control? How do you think about it?

2. Betel quid market

1. How is the number of betel stalls in compare to before? How is your idea about it?
2. How is the betel quid market? Is there any advertisement on betel quid?
3. How many types of betel quid are most available and preferred in today?
4. Are there any changes in betel quid preparation from the past?

3. Social network of betel chewer

1. Tell me briefly about your social life since you were young (social network, leisure activities, betel chewer friends, social activities)
2. How were those related to your betel chewing practice?

4. History about residential area

1. Were you born in Mandalay? If not where are you come from? And how long have you been stayed in Mandalay? What was the reason of migration?
2. What are the prominent changes in Mandalay? (economic, information and communication, cultural, educational interest of young men, behavior of young men)
3. How is your perception on those changes?
4. Are these changes in relation with your betel chewing practices?

Cultural contexts

1. Betel chewing and masculinity

1. What does it mean to be a man or how should a man be looked it? (General idea about masculine)

2. How come there are so many men chewing betel quid, what it is? Tell me about that?
3. Is there a role of betel chewing as part of man?
4. Do a lot of people around you chew betel? Who are they? (Men/Women; occupation; character; friend; family; neighbor)
5. What do you think about with your betel chewing towards other people perceptions? (attractive, more powerful, manly, strengthen social network, etc)
6. Why don't women chew it? What do you think and tell me about that?

2. Cultural practice/beliefs of betel quid

1. How betel quid is being used in the present culture (Religious ceremonies, ritual practice, social activities and as health remedies)?
2. What do you think about those beliefs?
3. Are those practices still applied in your today's life activities?
4. If not, why?
5. Have you ever heard about and what are your cultural beliefs about betel quid chewing?

Perception on betel quid chewing practice

1. How was your perception on other people's betel chewing practice when you were a non-chewer?
2. How is your today perception on betel chewing practice? (benefits, constraint, social outcome, should it be chewed for self/none-chewer)
3. Do you have any idea to quit from chewing?
4. How is your idea on betel quid control?
5. What kind of information and approach should be used for education program in betel quid control?

APPENDIX B
GUIDELINES FOR KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW
AND
FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Preparation

1. Select the participants
2. Set the place and time for discussion
3. Prepare tools: note book and pen, recorder, camera, facilitator (for FGDs), modification of guideline if necessary
4. Explain again about the research purpose and procedure, confidentiality, benefit of research and participation right.
5. Asking for informed consent orally for their voluntary participation.
6. Ask the permission for voice recording, photo taking and use of real name or pseudonyms in the report.

Socio – structural context

1. What is your idea about today's Mandalay city? What are the changes?
2. Are these changes affected on people economic, their psychological wellbeing? Why?
3. How is the general economic condition in Mandalay?
4. How is the educational interest of young men in your society?
5. What are the common jobs available for today young/adult men?
6. How is the social friendship in current community?
7. Do these changes have any relationship with today's betel chewing practice?
8. What types of people is mostly chew betel in Mandalay? How is it related?
9. How is the community acceptance and how is their view on betel chewing practice? Tell me, if you have any experience in regards to the community response on your betel chewing practice.

10. How about the role of family in relate to betel chewing?
11. How do you think today's availability and accessibility of betel quid in compare to before? And Why?
12. What are current law/political legislation/regulation on betel chewing?
13. How is the betel quid market? What is your idea about it?
14. What types of betel quid is popular in Mandalay (factory product, traditional, with or without tobacco)? Why?

Cultural contexts

1. Gender practices

1. What men should be look like in your idea?
2. What are the common behaviors of today young/adult men? What do they commonly do in their leisure time? How is it related to betel chewing practice?
3. Why many young/ adult men are chewing betel nowadays? How do you think? What are the reasons behind?
4. What are the benefits? Are there any beliefs that lead them to chew and continue chewing?
5. Why there is more men betel chewer than women? How is it related?

2. Cultural meanings

1. How betel quid is used in today's social activities, religious, ritual?
2. How do people belief on betel chewing?

3. Social meanings

1. What is the social role of betel quid?
2. How do people use betel quid in their social relationship? Why?
3. When do normally people chew betel quid?

Subjective experiences

1. Tell me briefly about your betel chewing history
2. How do you feel when you chew betel quid?
3. How do you feel when you don't chew betel quid?

4. Is betel quid chewing benefit to health? If yes, what? If not, what and how does it relate?
5. Have you ever seen about education program about betel quid chewing? From where have you seen it?
6. Do you think betel chewing can be stopped? Why?
7. How do you perceive on betel chewing practice?
8. Do you have any plan to stop chewing?

APPENDIX C

GUIDELINE FOR PARTICIPANTS' OBSERVATION

1. Preparation

1. Select the place and arrange the time for general observation
2. Set appointment with participant to follow their workplace and visit home
3. Prepare tools: note book and pen, recorder, camera
 Modify guideline if necessary

2. Observe general situation

1. How is the atmosphere in the community?
2. What are the majorities of people on the road?
3. What do people on the way is mostly doing?
4. How is the social relationship in the community?
5. Number of betel stall in a block of street?
6. Where betel stalls normally present?
7. How is the business of betel stall?
8. What type of people normally comes to buy betel quid? How many does a person normally buy?
9. How is the social dealing of betel seller?
10. Look for any advertisement about betel quid (lamppost, billboard, poster, pamphlet, journal and TV program)

3. Workplace

1. Social structure as venue for modeling (At workplace)
 1. Observe as the betel chewer environment?
 2. Are there any betel stalls close to their workplace?
 3. Are there betel chewers in or around their workplace?
 4. Where do people normally take a rest when they break from work?
 5. What do people normally do during their break time?
 6. Who are the people around them? How is their relationship?

2. Social structure as structuralism for suffering (At workplace)

1. Observe their working environmental context?
2. How is their working condition? (pressure, job stress, competition, high demand, enjoyable, freedom)
3. How do people work in that environment?
4. How is their relationship between their boss/college and customers?
5. When they start working daily?
6. Do they have break? How and where do they take a break?
7. How long are they working in a day?

4. Residential Area

1. Social structure as venue for modeling (relate to environment)

1. How is living environmental condition of informant? (available of betel stall within accessible range, having betel chewers in neighbor or around the area)
2. What kind of people does informant used to deal with? And what are the practices of those people?
3. How is the social relationship between participant's and his neighbor?

2. Social structure as structuralism for suffering (relate to environment)

1. Is there any peer pressure exist in society and / or their betel chewer friend?
2. How is their relationship with community?

3. Social structure as venue for modeling (At home)

1. Is there any betel chewer among family member? If yes, what and how do they chew?
2. How do they get betel quid? (prepare themselves at home or buy form outside)
3. How is the availability of betel quid at home?
4. What are the attitude of family members' on betel quid and betel chewing practices?

5. How betel quid is used in the family (religious, cultural, social activities)?
6. When do they normally chew betel quid?
7. What does informant usually do in his leisure time?
4. Social structure as structuralism for suffering (At home)
 1. How is family economic status?
 2. How is the family structure? (parental relationships, alive parent)
 3. How is the relationship/social interaction among family members?
 4. What are the roles of informant in terms of family financial responsibility?
5. Others

Observe religious festivals, ritual practice, and social ceremonies if there is opportunity.

APPENDIX D

MYANMAR TERMINOLOGY AND MEANING

Myanmar	Pronunciation	Meaning	Page
ကွမ်းယာ	Kun Yar	Betel quid	1,76,
ဆေး။ ကွမ်း။ ဣတ်	Hsey, Kun, Lahpet	Tobacco, betel quid, pickled tea leaf	21
ရတနာပုံ	Yadanabon	Royal city of gem. Name of Mandalay city when it was founded by King Min Tone in 1857	50
ဈေးချို	Zegyo	A whole sales market located at center of Mandalay city	52,54, 78
အငြိမ့်	Anyeint	Traditional Myanmar dances	53
ဇက်ပွဲ	Zat Pwe	Traditional Myanmar performance	53
နတ်ပွဲ	Nat Pwe	Spirit festival	53
နတ်	Nat	Spirit	92
ဆိုင်ကယ်မြို့တော်	Cycle Myo Taw	City of motor cycle	54
ဗမာ	Bamar	Burmese people	56
တရုတ်မြို့	Ta Yoke Myo	China Town	57
နှစ်လုံးထိ	<i>Na Lone Hte</i>	Two dig its Thai stock share lottery	58
ကျပ်	<i>Kyat</i>	100 cents of Myanmar currency equivalent proximally to 0.03 Baht	61,70, 74,79, 106
လွတ်တော်	<i>Lutt Taw</i>	Supreme legislative session	67
ကွမ်းရွက်	<i>Kun Ywat</i>	Betel vine leaf	76
ရှားဆေး	<i>sharsay</i>	Catchu	76
မြန်မာဆေး	<i>Myanmar Hsey</i>	Traditional dried tobacco	76,83
ဆေးပေါင်း, နှပ်ဆေး	<i>Hsey Paung, Nat Hsey</i>	Alcohol and honey treated tobacco	76,87
ဆေးမွှေး	<i>HsayHmwe</i>	Fragrant tobacco products imported from India	76
ဘုရင်မ။ တောပုံ။ ရွှေလက်ဝါး။ ရွှေဗမာ	<i>Bayinma, Top, Shwe Let Wah, ShweBamar,</i>	Brand name of local made tobacco products	77
နွယ်ချို	<i>Nwe -cho</i>	Sweet root/ liquorices	77
စမုံစပါး	<i>Samone -sapar</i>	Aniseed	77
ဖာလာ	<i>Phalar</i>	Cardamom	77
လေးညှင်း	<i>Lay Hnyin</i>	Clove	77,81
နာနတ်ပွင့်	<i>Narnut - pwint</i>	Pineapple flower	77
စမုံနတ်	<i>Samone -net</i>	Black cumin	77

Myanmar	Pronunciation	Meaning	Page
စပုံဆီ	<i>Samone -hsee</i>	Aniseed oil	77
စပုံနီ	<i>Samone -ni</i>	Cress	77
နှမ်း	<i>Hnan</i>	Sesamon seed	77
ဂုံခါး။ ကမုန်း	<i>gone -khar, Gamone</i>	Form of orchid or lily	77,81
သစ်ခေါက်	<i>Thit -khauk</i>	Artificial areca nut	77
အချို	<i>Ah Cho</i>	Sweet betel quid without tobacco	77
အစိမ့်	<i>Ah Seint</i>	Betel quid without tobacco	77
ဆေး	<i>Hsey</i>	Betel quid with dried tobacco	77
ဆေးပေါင်းရည်	<i>Hsay Paung Yay</i>	Alcohol treated tobacco water	78
ပန်းဥ	<i>Pan U</i>	A kind of flower's root	81
ထုံဗမာဆေး	<i>Htone Barma Hsey</i>	Betel quid with dried tobacco	87
အောင်သပြေ	<i>Aung Tha Pyay</i>	A kind of flower aiming for success and free for danger	91
တပွဲကွမ်း	<i>Ta Pywe Kun</i>	A single used spiritual treated betel quid	93
ကွမ်းမန်း	<i>Kun Mann</i>	Spiritual treated betel quid	93
ပါးစပ်စီးတယ်	<i>Pa Sat See The</i>	Effective and powerful speaking	93
မခံချင်စိတ်	<i>Ma Khan Gyin Zeik</i>	Indomitable spirit	95
အတုမြင်အတတ်သင်	<i>Ah Dhu Myin Ah Dhut Tin</i>	Learning from practicing	98
ကွမ်းမူးတာ	<i>Kun Muu Thar</i>	Suffering from betel chewing	108

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